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# The Historical Development of Seventh-day Adventist Eschatology 1884-1895

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**The historical development of Seventh-day Adventist  
eschatology, 1884-1895**

**McGarrell, Roy Israel, Ph.D.**

**Andrews University, 1990**

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Andrews University  
School of Education

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF SEVENTH-DAY  
ADVENTIST ESCHATOLOGY  
1884-1895

A Dissertation  
Presented in Partial Fulfillment  
of the Requirements for the Degree  
Doctor of Philosophy

by  
Roy Israel McGarrell  
September 1989

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**ABSTRACT**

**THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF SEVENTH-DAY  
ADVENTIST ESCHATOLOGY  
1884-1895**

**by**

**Roy Israel McGarrell**

**Chairman: George R. Knight**

ABSTRACT OF GRADUATE STUDENT RESEARCH

Doctoral Dissertation

Andrews University

School of Education

Title: THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF SEVENTH-DAY  
ADVENTIST ESCHATOLOGY, 1884-1895

Name of researcher: Roy Israel McGarrell

Name and title of faculty adviser: George R. Knight, Ed.D.

Date completed: September 1989

Problem and Purpose

The Millerite Movement foundered after the non-realization of its expectation regarding the second advent of Christ in 1844. Of the groups that sprouted from the movement, the Seventh-day Adventist Church has grown globally in 145 years to become the largest and most influential. While Adventists kept key elements of the Millerite premillennialist eschatology, they added some unique features.

For example, they added: a sanctuary theology concerning Christ's mediatorial ministry and His work in a heavenly pre-advent judgment, the "third angel's message"

(announced in Rev 14:12), and other teachings including the "latter rain," the "loud cry," health-reform, the seventh-day Sabbath and its special end-time relevance and a related concept of the mark and image of the beast through which they interpreted the Sunday-law controversy of the 1880s and 1890s.

The purpose of this study is to trace the development of Adventist eschatology from 1884 through 1895. To accomplish this purpose, three contextual factors have been treated: (1) national efforts to achieve Sunday legislation, (2) the doctrine of righteousness by faith that received a new emphasis in 1888, and (3) organized labor.

#### Method

This study employed the historical/documentary method of research using published primary sources. Secondary sources were utilized only for background purposes.

#### Conclusions

The findings show that two of the factors--righteousness by faith and organized labor--added new dimensions to Seventh-day Adventist eschatology. Prior to the period treated (1884-1895), obedience to the commandments was central in Adventist teaching in preparation for the second advent of Christ. During the period, however, a new emphasis was placed on faith. Adventists now had a



mature understanding of the "third angel's message" about those "that keep the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus" (Rev 14:12).

With regard to organized labor, late nineteenth-century Adventists viewed the conflict between capital and labor as a crisis that presaged the second advent. As to Sunday legislation, even though it did not add new elements to Adventist eschatology, it did sharpen the focus of the eschatological beliefs already held by the denomination.

#### DEDICATION

To Shirley, my beloved wife and best friend, whose support, patience, and prayers vicariously resided with me during this journey.

To our children, Andre, Fern, and Faith-Ann, who understood when they had to give up some things and share their father with an academic encroachment.

To my parents, Israel and Irene, who first taught me basic elements of Seventh-day Adventist eschatology, but most crucially about the "blessed hope."

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## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AHC	Adventist Heritage Center, Andrews University, Berrien Springs, Michigan
<u>AS</u>	<u>American Sentinel</u>
<u>BE</u>	<u>Bible Echo and Signs of the Times</u>
<u>DS</u>	<u>The Day-Star</u>
EGWE-AU	Ellen G. White Estate Branch Office, Andrews University, Berrien Springs, Michigan
EGWE-DC	Ellen G. White Estate, General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 6840 Eastern Avenue NW, Washington, D.C.
<u>GCB</u>	<u>General Conference Bulletin</u> (Daily)
<u>HM</u>	<u>The Home Missionary</u>
<u>MC</u>	<u>The Midnight Cry</u>
MS	Manuscript
NRA	National Reform Association
NRLA	National Religious Liberty Association
<u>PT</u>	<u>The Present Truth</u>
<u>PT(B)</u>	<u>The Present Truth</u> (British)
<u>RH</u>	<u>Advent Review and Sabbath Herald</u>
<u>SDAE</u>	<u>Seventh-day Adventist Encyclopedia</u>
<u>SS</u>	<u>The Sabbath Sentinel</u>
<u>ST</u>	<u>The Signs of the Times</u>
<u>ST(M)</u>	<u>The Signs of the Times</u> (Millerite)



## ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

Any research work of this nature is a multiple effort. I take this opportunity to thank my dissertation committee for the encouragement and guidance that they have given me. I am indebted to Dr. George R. Knight, chairman of my committee, for the number of hours he selflessly devoted to this study. As an active researcher and author, he shared with me his experience in documentary research. His incisive editorial skills and his wide knowledge in Adventist history helped significantly in the completion of this dissertation. Above all, I cherish the friendship that developed as we pursued what at times was very tedious work. It was while taking a class in advanced documentary research under Dr. Knight's tutelage that ideas took form for this dissertation.

I am also grateful to Drs. C. Mervyn Maxwell and Walter B. T. Douglas for serving as members of my committee. Dr. Maxwell's keen editorial eye, his relish for precision, and his meticulous coverage of the manuscript contributed to exactness and smoother reading of the study. In addition, as an author himself, the work

was enhanced by his broad experience as well as his considerable knowledge of Adventist historical theology. My appreciation for the suggestions and encouragement from Dr. Douglas is doubled, considering the fact that he now pastors a church in addition to his teaching load.

My gratitude goes to Caribbean Union College and the Caribbean Union Conference of Seventh-day Adventists for supplying a major portion of the financial resources for this project. In a very special way, though, I must thank Melody Chambers, Manager of Student Finance, who, when the transfer of funds was slow, showed me patience and compassion that made the completion of this study possible.

Thanks are due to Drs. Roy Naden and Kenneth Strand, my advisors during the first stage of my program, and to Dr. John Youngberg, Chairman of the Religious Education Department. During my attachment to Dr. Youngberg as a research assistant, I noted that he performs a near pastoral function to the candidates of his department.

I also express gratitude to the staffs of the Adventist Heritage Center and the Ellen G. White Estate Branch Office at Andrews University for friendly accommodation and for doing their best to make research material available. Outside of the ambit of their normal function, Louise Dederen and Sharon Crews of the

Heritage Center evinced interest in the study and gave kind words of encouragement.

As a student worker in the Seminary Library, I have received much kindness and understanding from Warren Johns, Seminary Librarian, and his assistant, Shirley Holmes, and also from Rebecca Twomley and Doris Helm in the circulation office of the James White Library. The sharing of the fellowship of prayer with Mrs. Holmes, for whatever the concern or issue, will always be remembered.

Special thanks are due to Patrick and Lorna Thomas for their exceptional friendship and varied assistance. Mrs. Thomas typed the early drafts of the manuscript until computer technology allowed me to make it a personal task. Joyce Jones, the dissertation secretary at Andrews University, deserves thanks for checking the study for mechanical correctness. I am also grateful to her for some fine-tuning hints.

Finally, I express deep and unbounded gratitude to my dear wife, Shirley, and our children, Andre, Fern, and Faith-Ann, who sacrificed much during the process. (In addition, Shirley typed major portions of the manuscript into the computer and, as an English major, made valuable suggestions on language and literary structure.) Without the support from my family, this project could not have been completed.

My praise and thanks to God must not be evaluated

by the order in which I have placed my recognition of divine aid as I pursued this project. I constantly marvel at the indescribable ways through which God answers prayers.

It is my hope that the obsession of nineteenth-century Adventists with the second advent of Christ--the focal point of Seventh-day Adventist eschatology--will be rekindled in these times of doubt, infidelity, liberal ideas, and independent thought.

## PREFACE

### Introduction

The Great Disappointment of 1844 crushed the expectations of the Millerite Adventists. In spite of their frustration, many Millerites, including William Miller, did not lose hope totally but continued to hold the firm assurance of a literal second advent of Christ. When Miller died in 1849, all of his beliefs did not perish with him. Theological reformulations led to several outgrowths from Millerism, the Seventh-day Adventist Church eventually becoming the most prominent.

Millennial expectations undergirded the fabric of early nineteenth-century life in both Europe and America.<sup>1</sup> The founders of the Seventh-day Adventist Church accepted a premillennialist eschatology. They looked for a literal, imminent second coming of Christ as the primary event before the millennium. Joseph Bates, influenced by Seventh Day Baptists, introduced the seventh-day Sabbath to the denomination.

In 1860 the leaders adopted the name "Seventh-day Adventist," reflecting the two pillar doctrines of

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<sup>1</sup>David E. Smith, "Millennarian Scholarship in America," American Quarterly 17 (Fall 1965): 535ff.

the church: the Sabbath and the imminent second coming of Jesus. In 1863, the General Conference was established.

The period from 1884 through 1895 is significant in Seventh-day Adventist history. During this time, external and internal factors affected the development of denominational eschatology. On the outside, the Sunday-law controversy and the labor disputes that gave birth to the trade-union movement were seen as signs of the end. Within the body itself, a vital emphasis on the doctrine of righteousness by faith sparked a revivalist latter-rain movement that energized the eschatological consciousness of the denomination.

#### Purpose of the Study

The primary purpose of this study was to trace the development of Seventh-day Adventist eschatology from 1884 through 1895. It treats three factors that affected the development of the eschatology of the denomination during that period.

1. The Sunday-legislation crusade that gained momentum in the 1880s reached the United States Congress through Senator Blair's Sunday Rest Bills in 1888 and 1889. (Adventists viewed the Sunday-law crisis as a clear indication of the imminence of Christ's second coming.)

2. The righteousness-by-faith message that dominated the 1888 General Conference session held at

Minneapolis, Minnesota, initiated a revival movement. (Some Adventist leaders believed that what took place was the beginning of the loud cry of Rev 18:1-4 accompanied by the latter rain of the Holy Spirit. The denomination viewed the latter rain as a needed spiritual experience to prepare for the second advent of Christ.)

3. Organized labor in the form of trade unions carried out activities that Seventh-day Adventists interpreted as pointers to the end. (Labor disputes escalated during the 1880s and continued to fester explosively in the 1890s.)

These were not the only factors that affected the development of Seventh-day eschatology between 1884 and 1895, but they are central to the purpose of this study for the selected period.

For contextual understanding, this study traces the eschatological growth of the denomination from its early beginnings up to the year 1884. In order to give perspective to this understanding, chapter 1 presents a historical background of millennial theories in early to mid nineteenth-century America, the Millerite movement, and the rise of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. Chapter 2 provides additional background by treating briefly the development of the three selected factors (Sunday legislation, righteousness by faith, and organized labor) to 1884.

Chapters 3 and 4 are the major chapters. They present the impact of the three selected factors on the development of Adventist eschatology from 1884 to 1888 in chapter 3, and from 1889 to 1895 in chapter 4. Chapter 5 contains the conclusions, a perspective, and recommendations for further study.

### Need for the Study

The uniqueness of this study resides in the fact that to date no major study of its type has been attempted. There is no study that shows how the Sunday-Sabbath controversy (effected by Sunday legislation), the teachings on righteousness by faith, and the activities of organized labor influenced the eschatological thinking of Adventists. Events of significance involving each of the three factors took place during the selected period.

The review of the related literature demonstrates that there are some books, short articles, and longitudinal research works that deal with Seventh-day Adventist eschatology, but their foci and chronology are different from what this study aims to accomplish.

### Scope and Delimitations of the Study

The year 1884 is significant to the study because it was the year that Seventh-day Adventists began to publish The Sabbath Sentinel in opposition to Sunday legislation.



The year 1895 was chosen as the cut-off point because a noted decline in the post-1888 revival was evident after that year. There was also a drop-off in public agitation for Sunday legislation.

This study has been delimited largely to the use of published primary sources. The important developments in Seventh-day Adventist eschatology were widely treated in print. Unpublished sources have been used in only a limited way, when deemed necessary.

The scope and delimitations of the historical background of the study (chapters 1 and 2) are as follows:

Millennialism and the Millerite movement, quite exhaustively treated in the literature, are surveyed, without great detail, to set the stage for the birth of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, followed by a survey of the eschatological views of the denomination to 1884.

The study also presents a selective, historical background of the three factors from the 1840s to 1884. For example, it does not investigate Sunday legislation in all the states of the United States, but limits its scope to national Sunday legislation (including legislation in the District of Columbia) and to selected states that illustrate national concerns.

The three selected factors from 1884 through 1895 are treated in chapters 3 and 4 of the study. The

scope and delimitations of these factors are as follows:

1. For the Sunday-Sabbath issue, the study treats Sunday legislation from a national point of view. It examines Blair's Sunday Rest Bills, the Breckenridge Bill, the Columbian Exposition and the Sunday-Closing Bill, and other national Sunday-Sabbath issues, and presents the Adventist responses to these legislative proposals. The study does not provide detailed treatment of the theological bases of the Sunday-Sabbath issue but does provide enough background to buttress eschatological understanding.

2. With respect to righteousness by faith, the study focuses on those processes by which the 1888 doctrine expanded the eschatological understanding of the denomination, rather than on all the theological aspects of the development. In this connection, the study examines terms such as the "third angel's message," the "latter rain," and the "loud cry" to determine their connection to righteousness by faith and Seventh-day Adventist eschatology.

3. Regarding organized labor, this study surveys problems between capital and labor--disputes, strikes, conciliations, and other related issues--that led to the development of the trade-union movement. The study particularly emphasizes Adventist perceptions of organized labor and labor relations with respect to eschatology.

### Design of the Study

This study is structured topically and chronologically. Each of the three selected factors (further divided into sub-topics) has been treated within a time scheme. Evaluation in the study relates the significance or non-significance of each factor to the development of Seventh-day Adventist eschatology. The conclusions in the final chapter present a synthesis and a perspective.

### Review of Related Literature

#### Seventh-day Adventist Eschatology General Categories

P. Gerard Damsteegt's 1977 work on the Seventh-day Adventist theology of mission,<sup>2</sup> begins with the Millerites and goes to 1874. Damsteegt thoroughly documented his study with unpublished and published primary sources. It is of great value for background purposes.

LeRoy Edwin Froom's Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers is a good historical-theological work in four volumes.<sup>3</sup> Volume 4, covering the period 1800 through 1952, overlaps the time frame of the present study. Froom's central purpose was the development of prophetic

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<sup>2</sup>P. Gerard Damsteegt, Foundations of the Seventh-day Adventist Message and Mission (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1977).

<sup>3</sup>LeRoy Edwin Froom, The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers: The Historical Development of Prophetic Interpretation, 4 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1946-54).

interpretation, whereas the present study traces the development of Seventh-day Adventist eschatology. In spite of the difference in purpose, Froom's work, because of its general sweep, provides useful insights for the present study.

The Midnight Cry: A Defense of William Miller and the Millerites, by Francis David Nichol, as the title suggests is related to the first chapter of the present study.<sup>4</sup> Nichol assumed the role of a polemicist to clear away misconceptions concerning the Millerite movement.

Of more recent publication is C. Mervyn Maxwell's Tell It to the World. It is a concise and colorful introduction to Adventist history and theology. The book includes pertinent details that are of interest to this study.<sup>5</sup>

The denominational histories, by the very nature of their purposes, do not trace the development of eschatology in the Seventh-day Adventist Church. These histories are useful, however, because they deal with the founding and growth of the denomination and its organizational, theological, educational, and missiological development. Richard W. Schwarz prepared a text book

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<sup>4</sup>Francis D. Nichol, The Midnight Cry: A Defense of William Miller and the Millerites (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1944).

<sup>5</sup>C. Mervyn Maxwell, Tell It to the World, 2d ed., rev. (Mountain View, Calif.: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1977).

that is currently being used in Seventh-day Adventist colleges.<sup>6</sup> Chapters 11, 12, and 16 of his Light Bearers to the Remnant are pertinent to the present study. J. N. Loughborough wrote from the vantage point of an observer and participant.<sup>7</sup> Some later works of cognate genre are not really historical treatments of the development of Adventist eschatology. The authors of these works include: M. Ellesworth Olsen, Matilda E. Andross, Emma E. Howell, and Arthur Whitefield Spalding.<sup>8</sup>

Jonathan Butler wrote on the late nineteenth-century expectancy of the parousia in Seventh-day Adventist ranks in his "World of Ellen G. White and the End of the World."<sup>9</sup> Although Butler's article encapsulates

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<sup>6</sup>Richard W. Schwarz, Light Bearers to the Remnant (Mountain View, Calif.: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1979).

<sup>7</sup>J. N. Loughborough, Rise and Progress of Seventh-day Adventists with Tokens of God's Hand in the Movement and a Brief Sketch of the Adventist Cause from 1831 to 1844 (Battle Creek, Mich.: General Conference Association of the Seventh-day Adventists, 1892); idem, The Great Second Advent Movement: Its Rise and Progress (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1905).

<sup>8</sup>M. Ellesworth Olsen, A History of the Origin and Progress of Seventh-day Adventists (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1925); Matilda E. Andross, Story of the Advent Message (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1926); Emma E. Howell, The Great Advent Movement (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1935); Arthur Whitefield Spalding, Origin and History of Seventh-day Adventists, 4 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1961-62).

<sup>9</sup>Jonathan Butler, "The World of Ellen G. White

some important contextual factors that affected Adventists in the 1880s and 1890s, he did not treat the latter-rain movement of that period.

Unpublished writings under the heading of "general eschatology" include Masao Yamagata's dissertation on "Ellen G. White and American Premillennialism."<sup>10</sup> Yamagata's research is of good quality and includes various aspects of Ellen White's ministry and theology. Another good study on Ellen White's eschatology is Ralph E. Neall's dissertation on "The Nearness and the Delay of the Parousia in the Writings of E. G. White."<sup>11</sup> While Ellen White's eschatological views are crucial to the present study, Seventh-day Adventist eschatology is not limited to her views. True, Ellen White made a distinctive contribution to Adventist theology, but the present study incorporates the appropriate teachings of other church leaders along with those of Ellen White.

A twenty-seven page paper by Bryan Ball discusses

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and the End of the World," Spectrum 10 (August 1979): 2-13.

<sup>10</sup>Masao Yamagata, "Ellen G. White and American Premillennialism" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1983).

<sup>11</sup>Ralph E. Neall, "The Nearness and the Delay of the Parousia in the Writings of E. G. White" (Ph.D. dissertation, Andrews University, Berrien Springs, Michigan, 1982). The published version of Neall's dissertation is How Long, O Lord? (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1988).

the uniqueness of Seventh-day Adventist eschatology.<sup>12</sup> Ball's chronological focus is not historical. He approached his subject from a theological point of reference.

#### Selected Works on Sunday Legislation

A seminal work concerning Sunday legislation in America is William A. Blakeley's American State Papers Bearing on Sunday Legislation.<sup>13</sup> Blakeley dedicated his book to the upholding of the "American idea" of the absolute separation of religion from the state. He provided a large number of documents that constitute source material for tracing the Sabbath-Sunday controversy and its impact on the development of Seventh-day Adventist eschatology. With a similar purpose, but with markedly less legal detail, Warren L. Johns highlighted the Sabbath-Sunday controversy in Dateline Sunday, U.S.A.<sup>14</sup> Eschatology was not a chief concern of these volumes.

The defense of religious liberty is a natural by-product of Sunday legislation. Charles M. Snow's

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<sup>12</sup>Bryan Ball, The Unique Character of Seventh-day Adventist Eschatology (Washington, D.C.: General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 1977).

<sup>13</sup>William A. Blakeley, American State Papers Bearing on Sunday Legislation (Bond Street, N.Y.: The National Religious Liberty Association, 1891). After several datings, this volume was last revised in 1949.

<sup>14</sup>Warren L. Johns, Dateline Sunday, U.S.A. (Mountain View, Calif.: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1967).

Religious Liberty in America<sup>15</sup> and Varner J. Johns' Forty Centuries of Law and Liberty<sup>16</sup> approached the subject from viewpoints dissimilar to Blakeley's and Warren Johns's. Snow, from a philosophical stance, argued that "God created the mind to be free"<sup>17</sup> and that human enactments therefore should not circumscribe conscience. Varner Johns, with a historical approach, reached back to the Pentateuch to buttress his argument. Only two chapters are pertinent to the present study.

A survey of Adventists and church-state relations came from the research of Eric Douglas Syme. His History of Seventh-day Adventist Church-State Relations in the United States<sup>18</sup> is the published form of his dissertation.<sup>19</sup> His unpublished work has more utility than his book thanks to the bibliographic essay the dissertation contains. Syme's work discusses Adventists

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<sup>15</sup>Charles M. Snow, Religious Liberty in America (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1914).

<sup>16</sup>Varner J. Johns, Forty Centuries of Law and Liberty (Mountain View, Calif.: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1940).

<sup>17</sup>Snow, Religious Liberty in America, p. 9.

<sup>18</sup>Eric D. Syme, A History of Seventh-day Adventist Church-State Relations in the United States (Mountain View, Calif.: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1973).

<sup>19</sup>Idem., "Seventh-day Adventist Concepts on Church and State" (Ph.D. dissertation, The American University, 1969).



and church-state relations per se. The present study attempts to look at Adventists and church-state relations in the context of eschatology.

Selected Works on Righteousness by Faith  
and Latter-Rain Revivalism

LeRoy Edwin Froom's Movement of Destiny<sup>20</sup> is an important work relative to the 1888 righteousness-by-faith message. It contains thirteen chapters on the subject. Froom attempted to refute the view of some persons that the message was not accepted by the denomination. Instead of being a failure, he said, the message sparked an outpouring of the Holy Spirit. He referred to his book as a "comprehensive portrayal" and "a thorough survey of the entire plan of redemption--its principles, provisions, and divine personalities--as they unfolded to our view as a Movement from 1844 onward, with special emphasis on the developments of '1888,' and their sequel."<sup>21</sup> Froom's Movement of Destiny is, therefore, an historical-theological work. It is related to two sections of the present study: the foundations of the Seventh-day Adventist Church and the revivalism springing out of the 1888 message. Yet Froom's work is different from the present study because he did not treat Sunday

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<sup>20</sup>LeRoy Edwin Froom, Movement of Destiny (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1971).

<sup>21</sup>Ibid., p. 17.

legislation, organized labor, or the development of Adventist eschatology from 1884 to 1895.

The 1888 righteousness-by-faith message received treatment also by Alfred Victor Olson in his Thirteen Crisis Years, 1888-1901.<sup>22</sup> This book recounts the "gains" and "losses" in the spiritual experience of the denomination from 1888 through the 1901 reorganization of the General Conference of the church. This is an important work for the present study, since more than any other in this review, it covers in depth a significant section of the same time frame. On the other hand, Olson's purpose was not to trace the development of Adventist eschatology.

Robert J. Wieland's 1888 Message<sup>23</sup> and Wieland's and D. K. Short's 1888 Re-Examined<sup>24</sup> set forth the thesis that the 1888 message was more rejected than accepted and that the poor spiritual condition of the church was responsible for the delay of Jesus' second coming.

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<sup>22</sup>A. V. Olson, Thirteen Crisis Years, 1888-1901 (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1981), rev. ed.; formerly published under the title Through Crisis to Victory, 1888-1901 (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1966).

<sup>23</sup>Robert J. Wieland, The 1888 Message: An Introduction (Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Publishing Association, 1980).

<sup>24</sup>Robert J. Wieland and D. K. Short, 1888 Re-Examined (Strafford, MO.: Gems of Truth, n.d.); idem, 1888 Re-Examined, rev. ed. (Meadow Vista, Calif., and Hendersonville, N.C.: n.p., 1987).

Some works that bear upon this study have been recently published. George R. Knight authored two of these: From 1888 to Apostasy: The Case of A. T. Jones (1987), and Angry Saints (1989). The first book is a biography of the controversial A. T. Jones, whose name appears very often in this study, because of his outstanding work in religious liberty and his teachings on righteousness by faith. Knight provides treatment on both of these topics. In the second book, chapters 2, 6, and 7 present a major thesis on the latter rain and loud cry. These eschatological teachings are important and valuable aspects of the present study.<sup>25</sup>

Another recent study is Clinton L. Wahlen's "Selected Aspects of Ellet J. Waggoner's Eschatology."<sup>26</sup> Beginning in 1882, Wahlen's work covers the same period as the present study and comes closest to its purpose. The similarity between the two studies is that both have treated aspects of Waggoner's eschatology. Yet the two are markedly different: the present study, in pursuing

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<sup>25</sup>George R. Knight, From 1888 to Apostasy: The Case of A. T. Jones (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1987); idem, Angry Saints: Tensions and Possibilities in the Adventist Struggle over Righteousness by Faith (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1989).

<sup>26</sup>Clinton L. Wahlen, "Selected Aspects of Ellet J. Waggoner's Eschatology and Their Relation to His Understanding of Righteousness by Faith, 1882-1895," M.Div. thesis, Andrews University, 1988.

the development of Adventist eschatology, has treated three contextual factors and noted the eschatological views of persons other than Waggoner's.

#### Selected Works on Labor

The Seventh-day Adventist relationship to organized labor in the context of "the end" received comment in two related articles. Eugene Chellis in "The Review and Herald and Early Adventist Response to Organized Labor"<sup>27</sup> and Carlos Schwantes in "Labor and Seventh-day Adventists: The Formative Years, 1877-1903"<sup>28</sup> utilized the same research material, even though Chellis's article is documented and Schwantes's is not. Both writers, charging the denomination with a negative attitude toward organized labor, concentrated on history with limited references to eschatology.

Though Robert Kistler is a sociologist, his Adventists and Labor Unions in the United States<sup>29</sup> seems more historical than sociological in nature. Its chapter on "Adventist Attitudes in the Growth of Labor

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<sup>27</sup>Eugene Chellis, "The Review and Herald and Early Adventist Response to Organized Labor," Spectrum 10 (August 1979): 20-30.

<sup>28</sup>Carlos A. Schwantes, "Labor Unions and Seventh-day Adventists: The Formative Years 1877-1903," Adventist Heritage 4 (Winter 1977): 11-19.

<sup>29</sup>Robert C. Kistler, Adventists and Labor Unions in the United States (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1984).

Consciousness Period" covers the late 1880s and early 1890s. Kistler has expressed the same view as Chellis and Schwantes regarding the fact that Adventists opposed organized labor.

Marvin Leroy Moore has written a master's thesis entitled "An Investigation of the Seventh-day Adventist Attitude to Organized Labor in the United States, 1900-1960." Even though the period that Moore has covered is subsequent to the parameters of the present study, sections of two of his chapters--"A Brief History of the American Labor Movement" (1870-1900) and "Mrs. Ellen G. White's Views on Organized Labor"--are useful to the present research.<sup>30</sup>

This literature review demonstrates that no one has as yet sought to accomplish the task of the present study. While Wahlen comes closest in purpose, his thesis was specifically restricted to E. J. Waggoner's writings on the contribution of righteousness by faith to the development of Seventh-day Adventist eschatology.

#### Methodology and Sources

The present study uses a historical/documentary approach based largely on published primary sources.

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<sup>30</sup>Marvin Leroy Moore, "An Investigation of the Seventh-day Adventist Attitude to Organized Labor in the United States, 1900-1960" (M.A. thesis, Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary, Andrews University, Berrien Springs, Michigan, 1961).

Secondary sources have also been used to provide both background and contextual material where appropriate.

Three main types of sources have been researched. They are: (1) books on the background of the study regarding the Seventh-day Adventist Church and the general context, (2) Seventh-day Adventist periodicals and contemporary books for the 1884-through-1895 period, and (3) selected unpublished materials.

## CHAPTER I

### HISTORICAL SURVEY

This chapter surveys the intellectual and religious background and context in which Seventh-day Adventist eschatology developed from the early nineteenth century through 1884. Four subsections are discussed as follows: Millennial expectations in early to mid nineteenth-century America, the Millerite Movement, the rise of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, and a survey of the eschatological views of that denomination from its inception up to 1884.

#### Millennial Theories in Early to Mid Nineteenth-Century America

Millennial theories in nineteenth-century America did not spring up by spontaneous generation. Their roots reached a long way back. The early makers of America were a devoutly religious people. Determined to escape the Christian despotism in Europe, they established their own ideals in a new world. Seventeenth-century Puritans, the pioneers of much American Christian thought, held apocalyptic ideas. And the eschatological expectations of the Puritans were, as Ira V. Brown pointed out, "part of the cultural baggage" that they brought with them

from their mother country.<sup>1</sup> Transcending culture, the Puritans were willing to risk their lives to preserve their religious experience.

Throughout the decades of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, millennial hopes burned brightly, and these hopes were trumpeted by many men of outstanding reputation.<sup>2</sup> During the Great Awakening of the 1730s and 1740s, millennial expectations flourished in the colonies. Jonathan Edwards (1703-1758) was the dominant evangelist among millennialists of this period. C. C. Goen has pointed out that Edwards had "a fully developed and closely reasoned eschatology."<sup>3</sup>

This interest in millennialism did not subside after the passing of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. From its inception, the nineteenth century witnessed a flood of religious excitement. Millennial expectations undergirded the fabric of early nineteenth-

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<sup>1</sup>Ira V. Brown, "Watchers for the Second Coming: The Millenarian Tradition in America," Mississippi Valley Historical Review 39 (December 1952): 441. Brown stated: "Millenarianism is an excellent example of America's cultural debt to the Old World, for while it has probably had its widest popularity and influence on this continent, its roots must be traced far back into the early days of the Hebrew-Christian tradition" (p. 441). This millennial tradition owes much to the Protestant Reformation.

<sup>2</sup>John Cotton (1584-1652), John Davenport (1597-1670), Thomas Shepard (1605-1649), Increase Mather (1639-1723), and Cotton Mather (1663-1728) were a few of the outstanding personalities who heralded the millennium.

<sup>3</sup>C. C. Goen, "Jonathan Edwards: A New Departure in Eschatology," Church History 28 (March 1959): 25.



century life in both Europe and America.<sup>4</sup> Indeed, ante-bellum America was, as Ernest R. Sandeen has described it, "drunk on the millennium."<sup>5</sup> There was not at that time in Protestant America, however, unanimity of thought concerning the millennium. Premillennialism, postmillennialism, and amillennialism with various subdivisions were all propounded.

In very general terms, premillennialism taught that the coming of Christ would take place before the millennium. Postmillennialism advanced the view that the literal coming of Christ would follow the millennium. Amillennialism (literally "no millennialism,") taught that there would be no future millennium, that instead, the term was a figurative one for the reign of Christ in the hearts of His followers in the present age.<sup>6</sup>

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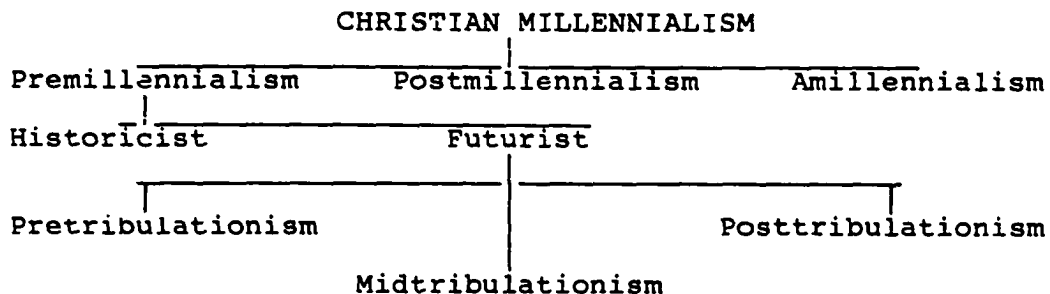
<sup>4</sup>David E. Smith, "Millenarian Scholarship in America," American Quarterly 17 (Fall 1965): 535.

<sup>5</sup>Ernest R. Sandeen, The Roots of Fundamentalism: British and American Millenarianism, 1800-1930 (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1970), p. 42.

<sup>6</sup>The Latin based word, "millennium," meaning a thousand years (Rev 20:1-6), has received treatment in several sources. This study utilized the following: A. Morgan Derham, "Millennialism," The New International Dictionary of the Christian Church, J. D. Douglas, gen. ed., (1974), p. 659; "Millennium, Millenarianism," The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge, 1910 ed., 7:374; "Millennium"; "Premillennialism," SDAE, 1976 ed., 10:886-88; 1146-48; Timothy P. Weber, Living in the Shadow of the Second Coming: American Premillennialism 1875-1925 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1979), pp. 10-15. See p. 10 in Weber for the following chart showing the subdivisions of "Christian Millennialism."

## Postmillennialism

Nineteenth-century postmillennialism in America had a "this-worldly" flavor. It proclaimed that the earth would experience a golden age prior to the second coming of Christ. To understand the root of this idea, where America is concerned, we must return to Jonathan Edwards, the great eighteenth-century evangelist, even though his actual ministry falls outside the scope of this study. Goen has expressed an opinion generally held within an American religious context that Edwardsean millennial speculations were "a new departure in eschatology."<sup>7</sup> Edwards foresaw a golden age for the church on earth, within history, and achieved through the process



<sup>7</sup>Goen, "Jonathan Edwards," p. 25. See also, Jonathan Edwards, Works of Jonathan Edwards, 2 vols., ed. Edward Hickman (Edinburgh, Pennsylvania: The Banner of Truth Trust, 1974), 1:609-11. Here Edwards spoke of a period of evangelism and conversion after the fall of Satan's kingdom: "After this glorious victory of Christ and His Church over their enemies, the chief powers of Satan's kingdom, they shall destroy that kingdom in all those cities and countries to which they belonged. After this the word of God shall have a speedy and swift progress through the earth" (p. 607). The Church will then be in a "prosperous state"; it will be "heaven upon earth"; it will be "a time of great light and knowledge"; a time of "great peace and love" (pp. 610-11).

of evangelization in the power of the Holy Spirit. This is commonly designated postmillennialism, and according to Goen, it was a novelty in eighteenth-century New England.<sup>8</sup>

Ironically, as Goen was careful to point out, Edwards "was an able exponent of traditional orthodoxy regarding the future state."<sup>9</sup> His millennial speculations, however, were a radical turn-about from Puritan chiliasm, which was to a large extent premillennialist. Edwards, however, was not the originator of modern postmillennialism. LeRoy Edwin Froom reported that Daniel Whitby (1638-1726) was the "avowed originator" of the postmillennial scheme.<sup>10</sup>

Whitby himself, however, in his Paraphrase and Commentary of the New Testament, traced his postmillennialism back to many precursors. He wrote of the "true millennium of the ancients" and listed Church Fathers like Justin Martyr and Irenaeus and several others, who taught that the "reign on earth [of] a thousand years" would occur before the second advent of Christ.<sup>11</sup> Whitby

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<sup>8</sup>Goen, "Jonathan Edwards," p. 26.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 33

<sup>10</sup>LeRoy Edwin Froom, The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers: The Historical Development of Prophetic Interpretation, 4 vols. (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1946-54), 2:651.

<sup>11</sup>Daniel Whitby, A Paraphrase and Commentary on the New Testament, 2vols. 2d ed. (Paternoster Row, London: W. Boyer for Awnsham and Church, 1706), 1:715, 721.

and the "ancients" differed from the premillennialists on the interpretation of 1 Thess 4:16, 17. They held that

when Christ appears, . . . they who have been his choicest and most faithful Servants shall not immediately be raised to eternal life, but first to that life which is but temporal; they shall not be received into Heavenly but into Earthly Mansions; they shall not be glorified with him . . . or "see him as he is" till they have spent a thousand years on earth to fit them for those blessed Mansions.<sup>12</sup>

Whitby believed that the reign of the saints on earth (for him a glorious period for the church) would virtually be the millennial reign of Christ in a spiritual sense. The thousand-year period would end with a brief insurrection, which would be subdued by Christ at His return to put an end to time and history.<sup>13</sup>

As Edwards followed Whitby, another generally held opinion is that Edwards in turn influenced Joseph Bellamy, Jonathan Edwards, Jr., Timothy Dwight, and Samuel Hopkins to articulate the same eschatological scheme.<sup>14</sup>

In commenting upon the theological shift from

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<sup>12</sup>Ibid., 1:741.

<sup>13</sup>Daniel Whitby, "A Treatise on the Millennium; Showing That It Is Not a Reign of Persons Raised from the Dead but of the Church Flourishing Gloriously for a Thousand Years after the Conversion of the Jews, and the Flowing in of All Nations to Them Thus Converted to the Christian Faith," in A Critical Commentary and Paraphrase on the Old and New Testament and the Apocrypha, 4 vols., ed., Daniel Whitby, et al. (Philadelphia: Carey and Hart, 1848), 4:1117-34.

<sup>14</sup>Goen, "Jonathan Edwards," p. 38.

early premillennialism to postmillennialism, Timothy P. Weber has observed:

As strange as the theory sounded in 1739, by the early nineteenth century increasing numbers of evangelicals enthusiastically supported it. In the years since Edwards's predictions, two massive religious awakenings had swept America clean of its infidelity and irreligion. Suddenly the millennium seemed easily within reach through the dual agencies of revival and social reform.<sup>15</sup>

Two major outgrowths flourished on account of the idea of a postmillennial "utopia"--an idea which was given tangible form relative to the setting up of the Kingdom of God on earth. First, America was cast in the role of a "redeemer nation," burdened with grand missiological responsibilities. Ernest Lee Tuveson has treated the belief about this role in a work bearing the same term in its title--Redeemer Nation.<sup>16</sup> Second, in the United States the millennial interpretation of God's Word affected people's attitudes toward contemporary problems. As a result, many religious people founded societies for the abolition of slavery, for temperance, for the alleviation of the miseries of the poor, and for a host of other causes. Nineteenth-century America witnessed the emergence of all sorts of reform movements. The

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<sup>15</sup>Weber, Living in the Shadow of the Second Coming, p. 14.

<sup>16</sup>Ernest Lee Tuveson, Redeemer Nation: The Idea of America's Millennial Role (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1968). See also, Timothy L. Smith, "Righteousness and Hope: Christian Holiness and the Millennial Vision in America, 1800-1900," American Quarterly 31 (Spring 1979): 21.

optimistic postmillennialists generally received credit for the movements.<sup>17</sup>

#### Premillennialism before the Civil War

In contrast to the postmillennialists, early nineteenth-century premillennialists, viewed as other-worldly by their critics, showed more concern for the development of piety in individual Christians than in reforming the world. In addition, because premillennialists normally preached gravely about earthly destruction and the total disarray of society taking place at the advent of Christ, they have been given the name pessimists. Masao Yamagata captured the spirit of many premillennialists when he wrote that

there is certainly a logic in all forms of premillennialism which would lead to lack of interest in social reforms. Since that event, the coming of Christ, is imminent, why should we care about the things of this world? This thinking would certainly discourage any social reform.<sup>18</sup>

Yamagata observed, however, that it was an exaggeration to conclude that all premillennialists discouraged social improvement in society.<sup>19</sup>

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<sup>17</sup>Froom, Prophetic Faith, 4:413.

<sup>18</sup>Masao Yamagata, "Ellen White and American Premillennialism" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1983), p. 288.

<sup>19</sup>Ibid. Not all premillennialists ignored humanitarian schemes. For example, George M. Marsden, in his Fundamentalism and American Culture: The Shaping of Twentieth-Century Evangelicalism (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980), stated that "postmillennialists

In spite of the resolute challenge from postmillennialism, premillennialism in the nineteenth century held firmly. Vigorous religious groups and notable individuals looked for a millennium after the second advent.

During the early and mid nineteenth century, many socio-religious sects, strongly influenced by charismatic leaders, proliferated. Several of these sects extolled socialistic ideals and embraced chiliastic beliefs.<sup>20</sup> But just as the characteristics of these communitarian groups varied, even so did their millennial thought. A few examples illustrate this diversity.

One nineteenth-century millennial variation was espoused by the Rappites. Named for their leader, George Rapp, they lived communally, practised celibacy, and taught second-advent and millennial views similar to the Millerites (save for time-setting).<sup>21</sup> From has referred

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were not the only innovators in Christian social work" (p. 82ff). Marsden named two premillennialists, Stephen H. Tyng, Sr., and Jr., as being among the nation's most notable pastors for promoting and implementing social action during the 1860s and 1870s. See also Weber, Living in the Shadow of the Second Coming, pp. 82-104.

<sup>20</sup>Arthur E. Bestor, Jr., Backwoods Utopias: The Sectarian and Owenite Phases of Communitarian Socialism in America, 1663-1829 (Philadelphia: University of Philadelphia Press, 1950), pp. 6, 91.

<sup>21</sup>Jerome L. Clark, 1844, vol. 2: Social Movements (Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Publishing Association, 1968), p. 143. Twentieth-century communism is atheistic, and it attempts to enforce socialism (even militarily), without normal safeguards for the democratic consent of the people. Nineteenth-century voluntary "communism" as

to "certain imported religious and social experiments and strange indigenous utopias."<sup>22</sup> The Rappites satisfied almost all aspects of his description. George Rapp came to America from Germany in 1803 with the express purpose of founding a community to disseminate his views. He arrived during a "period of social ferment"<sup>23</sup>--a period receptive to his communitarian and eschatological beliefs. The Rappites practiced their creed at three main locations throughout the nineteenth century before their disintegration in 1904.<sup>24</sup>

Another group was the Shaker Society, also known as the Millennial Church or the United Society of Believers in Christ's Second Appearing. Organized about the time of the American Revolution, the Shakers propounded a unique eschatology. In synopsis, they believed that the second advent had already taken place via the incarnation of God in Mother Ann Lee (1736-1784), and that the millennium had started with the establishment of the Gospel

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practised by religious sects taught the sharing of wealth, renunciation of private property, and community effort for the good of all; most important, it was theistic.

<sup>22</sup>Froom, Prophetic Faith, 4:54

<sup>23</sup>Alice Felt Tyler, Freedom's Ferment: Phases of American Social History to 1860 (Minneapolis: The University of Minnesota Press, 1944), pp. 29, 55.

<sup>24</sup>Clark, 1844, 2:157. The Rappites remained for more than half of a century at their third location (in Pennsylvania). Also, they saved up \$500,000 to help build the Jerusalem temple after Christ should appear.



Order in 1792.<sup>25</sup> By the 1830s the Shakers had established about twenty settlements in seven states. Whitney R. Cross has described them as espousing "communism, premillennialism, spiritualism, and perfectionism."<sup>26</sup> It can be argued that the Shakers were not premillennialists, because their "premillennialism" was unorthodox and non-traditional. The uniqueness of their premillennialism resided in the fact that their second coming (the incarnation of God in Mother Ann Lee) took place before their millennium (the establishment of the Gospel Order in 1792). Yet, thoroughgoing premillennialists reject the Shakerite premillennialism. For example, C. Mervyn Maxwell has disagreed with Whitney Cross's conclusion that the Shakers were premillennialists.<sup>27</sup>

Mormonism illustrates a third strand of American premillennialism in the nineteenth century. Early Mormonism was obsessed with a millennial aspiration.<sup>28</sup> Many of the adherents of what became The Church of Jesus

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<sup>25</sup>J. F. C. Harrison, The Second Coming: Millenarianism, 1780-1850 (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1979), pp. 164-76. See also, Ronald G. Walters, American Reformers, 1815-1860 (New York: Hill and Wang, 1978), pp. 44-48.

<sup>26</sup>Whitney R. Cross, The Burned-Over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850 (Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press, 1950), p. 32.

<sup>27</sup>Interview with C. Mervyn Maxwell, Andrews University, Berrien Springs, Michigan, August 25, 1986.

<sup>28</sup>Brown, "Watchers," p. 453.

Christ of Latter Day Saints saw in Joseph Smith's revelation conclusive evidence of the impending arrival of Christ. Smith (1805-1844) himself adopted a premillennialist eschatology and told his apostles that they would see the Savior come and reign upon the earth with great power and glory. Although he never predicted the exact time of the second advent, on one occasion he suggested that "even fifty-six years would wind up the scene."<sup>29</sup> One of the thirteen Articles of Faith held by the Mormons declares:

We believe in the literal gathering of Israel and in the restoration of the Ten Tribes; that Zion will be built upon this American continent; that Christ will reign personally upon the earth; and that the earth will be renewed and receive its paradisiacal glory.<sup>30</sup>

The uniqueness of early Mormon premillennialism resided in the belief that Christ would appear only after God's kingdom and a place of refuge, or Zion, had been established in Jackson County, Missouri.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>29</sup>Fawn M. Brodie, No Man Knows My History: The Life of Joseph Smith, The Mormon Prophet (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1945), pp. 101-2. Smith claimed that he received his first supernatural revelation in the spring of 1820. For more on Joseph Smith and the Mormon story, see also, Donna Hill, Joseph Smith: The First Mormon (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1977); Harry M. Beardsley, Joseph Smith and His Mormon Empire (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1931). The literature on Joseph Smith and the Mormons is voluminous.

<sup>30</sup>Brodie, No Man Knows My History, p. 278.

<sup>31</sup>Thomas G. Alexander, "Wilford Woodruff and the Changing Nature of Mormon Religious Experiences," Church History 45 (March 1976): 63.

In addition to religious movements, many individuals also aggressively propounded premillennialism in the early nineteenth century. Joshua Spalding (1760-1825), minister in Salem, Massachusetts, had studied theology under Jonathan Edwards, Jr., and Samuel Hopkins, but later "came to repudiate their postmillennialism," and adopted millennial views somewhat similar to those of the Millerites of the 1830s and 1840s.<sup>32</sup> Nathan Lord (1792-1870), president of Dartmouth College from 1828 to 1863, became disappointed in America's liberal tendencies, and like Spalding forsook postmillennialism to become a premillennialist.<sup>33</sup> A third individual advocating premillennialism was George Duffield (1794-1868), a Presbyterian minister, who appealed to the belief of the early Christians and the view of the post-Reformation church.<sup>34</sup> Another example was David N. Lord (1792-1880),

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<sup>32</sup>Froom, Prophetic Faith, 3:230-35. Spalding, who was called the "daystar" of resurgent premillennialism, authored Sentiments, Concerning the Coming and Kingdom of Christ (Salem, [Mass.]: Thomas C. Cushing, 1796), a work that the Millerite Adventist Joshua V. Himes found to be very useful to the cause (Froom, 4:290). Froom also listed the "stalwart defenders" of premillennialism. He reviewed the works of some of these in much detail. Names like Bishop John P. Henshaw (1792-1852), Dr. Stephen Higginson Tyng (1800-1885), and Edward Winthrop (1811-1865) are just a few of these leaders and writers that Froom treated (4:330-65).

<sup>33</sup>Robert Kieran Whalen, "Millenarianism and Millennialism in America, 1790-1880" (Ph.D. dissertation, State University of New York at Stony Brook, 1972), pp. 66-67.

<sup>34</sup>Froom, Prophetic Faith, 4:331-33. Froom gave extensive treatment to Duffield, who, upon reading the newly published Signs of the Times in November 1840,

1880), a Congregational theologian, who looked for an imminent premillennial advent of the Savior.<sup>35</sup> And there were others. It would be a mistake to conclude that general agreement of these individuals with the Millerites (to be discussed later) on a general eschatological framework meant that there was agreement on all details. For example, Duffield believed in a future mass conversion of the Jews;<sup>36</sup> and while David Lord accepted the belief that "Christ's personal advent is to precede the millennium," he also taught that "the gospel-dispensation will continue during the thousand years."<sup>37</sup> The Millerites held neither view.

#### Amillennialism

The amillennialists in antebellum America were usually not as vocal as the premillennialists and postmillennialists.<sup>38</sup> It seems that this docility is endemic among amillennialists. William E. Cox has advanced the

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wrote to Joshua V. Himes expressing his support for the premillennialist doctrine, except the precise time aspect. See also, ST(M), March 1, 1841, p. 179.

<sup>35</sup>David N. Lord, "Mr. Steele's Essay on Christ's Kingdom," Theological and Literary Journal 3 (July 1850): 5-6.

<sup>36</sup>George Duffield to Joshua V. Himes, 17 November, 1840, in ST(M), March 1, 1841, p. 180.

<sup>37</sup>Lord, "Mr. Steele's Essay," pp. 5-6.

<sup>38</sup>Yamagata, "Ellen White and American Premillennialism," p. 37.

idea that "amillennialism is the view held by a great majority of all denominational seminaries in the United States."<sup>39</sup> "Unfortunately," stated Cox, "most of these schools are not . . . vocal on eschatology."<sup>40</sup> Amillennialists of the nineteenth century dominated the Lutheran and Reformed traditions. With Luther and Calvin they believed in a "literal, visible, bodily coming" of Christ, that is, the advent only, and not the millennium as held by the chiliasts.<sup>41</sup> For the amillennialists, the millennium was figurative.

#### Millennial Theories after the Civil War

After the War Between the States (1861-1865) two important strains of premillennialism sprouted: the Jehovah's Witnesses and Dispensationalism.

In Pittsburg, Charles Taze Russell founded the Millennial Dawnists in 1872. Also called the the International Bible Students, and earlier referred to as Russellites, it was not until 1931 that the name Jehovah's Witnesses was chosen.

Russell adopted some extreme views on the "vision of the millennium."<sup>42</sup> His Jehovah's Witnesses differ from

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<sup>39</sup>William E. Cox, Amillennialism Today (Philadelphia: Presbyterian and Reformed Publishing Company, 1972), p. 8.

<sup>40</sup>Ibid.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., pp. 5-8.

<sup>42</sup>James A. Beckford, The Trumpet of Prophecy: A

most premillennial groups by denying the doctrine of the Trinity and the doctrine of hell, for example. Russell believed and taught that the "Time of the End" started from 1799 to 1914. This period he named, "The Day of His Preparation." Within this "Day" the year 1874 was of supreme significance because Russell regarded it as the year when Christ returned.<sup>43</sup> Russell used a sort of parallelism that led him to a questionable conclusion:

The second advent of our Lord in the end or harvest of the Gospel age, occurring in the Fall of 1874 proves to be a point of time exactly parallel to the time of his first advent, in the time of the Jewish age.<sup>44</sup>

Because Russell understood the word parousia, to mean "presence," he spiritualized the 1874 advent. The following statement expresses his conviction:

And now he has come! The Lord is indeed present! And the time is at hand for the setting up of his kingdom, and the exaltation and glorification of his faithful bride. The days of waiting for his presence are now in the past and the blessedness of the waiting ones, long foretold, is ours.<sup>45</sup>

The year 1914 was to mark the actual commencement of the Millennial age,<sup>46</sup> during which time Christ would

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Sociological Study of Jehovah's Witnesses (New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1975), p. 4.

<sup>43</sup>Charles Taze Russell, Studies in the Scriptures, vol. 3, Thy Kingdom Come (Brooklyn, New York: Watchtower Bible and Tract Society, 1891), pp. 23, 125.

<sup>44</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 125

<sup>45</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 133.

<sup>46</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 121. Jehovah's Witnesses beliefs have

reign "for the purpose of converting the world."<sup>47</sup> Therefore, during the millennial dawn (1874-1914), "the world must be plowed and prepared for another sowing and reaping time--the Millennial age."<sup>48</sup> The millennium was envisaged by Russell as an event on earth, but it would be governed by Christ and the saints from heaven.

Premillennialist movements of the early to mid nineteenth century were mainly of the historicist persuasion and, consequently, generally interpreted biblical prophecy in terms of specific dates. The above discussion points out that Russell was as vulnerable as Miller with respect to the problem of date setting for the second advent.<sup>49</sup>

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gone through various reshapings. The year 1914, instead of 1874, is used for the time of the Second Coming in some sources. See Marley Cole, Jehovah's Witnesses (New York: Vantage Press, 1955), p. 51. In contrasting Russell's view on the second advent with "the dominant tradition in nineteenth-century millennialism," Russell believed that "Jesus Christ's Second Coming had occurred invisibly" (that is, before 1914), and that the years prior to 1914 would "mark a progressive diffusion about the event," or the informing of the world by Jehovah's Witnesses that the climaxing event had already taken place (Beckford, The Trumpet of Prophecy, p. 5).

<sup>47</sup>Russell, Studies in the Scriptures, p. 91.

<sup>48</sup>Ibid., p. 121.

<sup>49</sup>Russell, however, was evasive on some occasions and kept changing his "predictions" by linking the "object and manner of Christ's return to non-empirical events." By this method "Russell avoided . . . the problem of disconfirmation of the 1874 date." See Melvin Dotson Curry, Jr., "Jehovah's Witnesses: The Effects of Millenarianism on the Maintenance of a Religious Sect" (Ph.D. dissertation, Florida State University (1980),

The second post-Civil War premillennial system of thought to which we referred above is Dispensationalism. The specific date of its origin is debatable, but by the 1870s it had gained wide acceptance,<sup>50</sup> later becoming the vanguard of the vocal fundamentalism of the twentieth century.<sup>51</sup> Dispensationalists hold tenaciously to biblical literalism and the inerrancy of Scripture.<sup>52</sup>

The Plymouth Brethren, a small British group with roots in Ireland and England during the 1820s, gave birth

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p. 134, n. 1. Dotson further added that Russell switched from an empirically verifiable fulfillment to a spiritualized, non-empirical one, and recycled the prophecy by tying the prediction to another event (p. 146).

Russell was sympathetic yet critical of the mistakes of others: "We have great sympathy for both the First Adventists (the Jews) and the Second Adventists, the Millerites and other Advent groups of the nineteenth century," he wrote, "though only a few of either grasped the truths they so nearly apprehended, yet failed to grasp, each being blinded by false expectations." (Russell, Studies in the Scriptures, p. 29). He also stated that "the failure of the predictions of Adventists, who attempted to fix a time for the burning of the world, etc., etc., has been more in regard to the character of the events than in the time. Like the Jews, they erred by looking for the wrong thing at the right time" (ibid., p. 31).

<sup>50</sup>Sandeen, Roots, p. 73. See also C. Norman Kraus, Dispensationalism in America: Its Rise and Development (John Knox Press, 1958), p. 46.

<sup>51</sup>James Barr, Fundamentalism (Philadelphia: The Westminster Press, 1977), p. 197.

<sup>52</sup>James H. Brookes, "I am Coming:" A Setting Forth of the Second Coming of Our Lord Jesus Christ as Personal--Private--Premillennial (London: Alfred Holness, [1891]), p. 121. Brookes held that the Holy Spirit "dictated" Scripture. For an incisive discussion of inerrancy, see Marsden, Fundamentalism, p. 56.



to Dispensationalism. The Brethren were influenced by John Nelson Darby, a lawyer turned churchman, who was dissatisfied with what he felt was a cold tradition, and and stunted formalism in the Church of England. The Dispensationalists attempted to re-establish a New Testament environment in worship and church polity.<sup>53</sup>

Darby visited the United States for the first time in 1862. Many later visits followed, some of which extended into years. Sandeen has reported that from a very slow, tedious, and difficult beginning the Plymouth Brethren finally attracted attention in the United States in the 1870s.<sup>54</sup> During its pioneer days, the most effective machinery that was engineered for the spread of Dispensationalism was the annual summer Bible conference. The Brethren summoned this type of conference for the first time in 1868, and the practice continued annually to the end of the nineteenth century. In 1883 the annual

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<sup>53</sup>J. N. Darby, "Analysis of Dr. Newman's Apologia Pro Vita Sua," in the Collected Writings of J. N. Darby, 34 vols., ed. William Kelly (Kingston on Thames, England: Stow Hill Bible and Tract Depot, 1967), 18:145-46. For an early documented treatment of the movement, see W. Blair Neatby, A History of the Plymouth Brethren (London: Hodder and Stoughton, 1902). For a synopsis see G. C. D. Howley, "Plymouth Brethren," The New International Dictionary of the Christian Church (1974), pp. 789-90. See also, F. Roy Coad, A History of the Brethren Movement (Grand Rapids, Mich.: William B. Eerdmans Publishing Company, 1968). A good discussion can also be found in Daniel P. Fuller, "The Hermeneutics of Dispensationalism," (Th.D dissertation, Northern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1957), especially pp. 66-76.

<sup>54</sup>Sandeen, Roots, pp. 72-80.

convocations in the United States became the "Niagara Conferences," named for the location. The attendees met from one to two weeks annually up to 1897, after which the Niagara Conferences declined. Dispensationalists attributed much significance to these conferences.<sup>55</sup> Besides the annual conference, they also held international prophetic conferences. The first convened in 1878. These conferences were a principal vehicle for the spread of Darby's theology. His ideas introduced innovations in the premillennial outline concerning certain last-day events, such as the pretribulation secret rapture of the Christian church and the "any-moment" theory.<sup>56</sup>

Early Dispensationalists divided history into periods. Before C. I. Scofield--the acknowledged systematizer of the movement<sup>57</sup>--other Dispensationalist thinkers of the nineteenth century had proposed dispensational outlines. C. Norman Kraus has presented a list of these

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<sup>55</sup>Idem, "Historical Interpretation," pp. 10-11. See also, Kraus, Dispensationalism, pp. 89-99.

<sup>56</sup>Ibid., pp. 89, 99.

<sup>57</sup>Marsden, Fundamentalism, p. 59. In a late nineteenth-century work, C. I. Scofield, Rightly Dividing the Word of Truth (New York: Charles C. Cook, paperback edition, [1896]), p. 3, claimed, as the biblical title suggests, that the word of God had "right divisions." This work became the seed-bed of Scofield's later contribution to the cause of dispensationalism: The Scofield Reference Bible (1909).

men.<sup>58</sup> J. H. Brookes, president of the Niagara Conferences for several years, and a dominant figure in the Dispensational movement, submitted the following divisions in 1889:

The first [was] the Eden dispensation; the second, the Antediluvian dispensation; the third, the Patriarchal dispensation; the fourth, the Mosaic dispensation; the fifth, the Messianic dispensation; the sixth, the dispensation of the Holy Ghost, or as it is sometimes termed, the dispensation of the gospel; and the seventh, the Millennial dispensation [sic].<sup>59</sup>

Dispensationalists looked for a literal, imminent second coming of Christ as the immediate event before the final dispensation, the millennium. The premillennialist eschatology of the Dispensationalists, however, had its own peculiar ingredients. For example, they placed a dichotomy between Israel as a nation and the church of the New Testament. They argued that the church would be raptured before the tribulation, and that the Jews would be reconverted during the tribulation. Christ, after His second coming, would then reign from Jerusalem during

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<sup>58</sup>All of these men did not have the same number of divisions in their dispensational schemes. For example, J. N. Darby (1800-82) proposed seven dispensations in his outline, viz., (1) Paradisiacal State to the flood; (2) Noah; (3) Abraham; (4) Israel: a) under the law, b) under the priesthood, c) under the kings; (5) Gentiles; (6) The Spirit; (7) The Millennium. S. H. Cox (1793-1880) proposed seven dispensations; Henry M. Parsons (1828-1913) named five "ages," which he expanded to ten by 1885; William E. Blackstone (1841-?) outlined seven; A. J. Frost (?) proposed five; and G. Campbell Morgan (1864-1945) proposed seven divisions (Kraus, Dispensationalism, pp. 26-44).

<sup>59</sup>James H. Brookes, Maranatha: Or the Lord Cometh (New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1889), p. 285.

the Jewish millennium of Rev 20 over those saved from the dispensation of grace.<sup>60</sup>

The core of the reasoning that spawned dispensationalist eschatology was the doctrine of the inerrancy of the biblical autographs, and coupled with it, a very literalistic hermeneutic.<sup>61</sup> Created as an attempt to answer the deistic rationalism and liberal reductionist theology of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Dispensationalism not only upheld biblical inspiration, its view of the inerrancy of Scripture opened paths to indigenous millennial theories.

Postmillennialism found new life in the last decades of the nineteenth century. We discussed above the interest evinced by postmillennialists in social reforms. After the Civil War, a small group of Protestant clergymen revived the liberal theology that emphasized social reconstruction and pragmatic implications. The postbellum environment, plagued by economic and social problems, provided the scenario for the rise of Social Gospel. One of the books that influenced the

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<sup>60</sup>Scofield, Rightly Dividing the Word of Truth, p. 23. Cf. Brookes, "I Am Coming", pp. 6-7. Here Brookes has presented a detailed outline of "end-time" events leading up to the final consummation and millennium. See also, Brookes, Maranatha, pp. 389-445.

<sup>61</sup>For an exhaustive anti-inerrancy argument, see J. Schoneberg Setzer, "A Critique of the Fundamentalist Doctrine of the Inerrancy of the Biblical Autographs in Historical, Philosophical, Exegetical, and Hermeneutical Perspective," Ph. D. dissertation, Duke University, 1965.

movement was Josiah Strong's Our Country.<sup>62</sup> Washington Gladden, a congregational minister, was the most influential nineteenth-century leader.<sup>63</sup> The promoters claimed that Christ said much more about ameliorating the conditions of life in this world than He said about the future state.<sup>64</sup> The concern of the Social Gospellers was highly humanistic. They envisioned a Christianized millennium of predominantly human achievement before the second advent of Christ. This effort, they claimed, was to fortify the Kingdom of God on earth.<sup>65</sup>

#### Summary

Faith in the millennium in one form or another was "entirely respectable socially and intellectually

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<sup>62</sup>Josiah Strong, Our Country: Its Possible Future and Present Crisis (New York: Baker & Taylor Co., 1885).

<sup>63</sup>John M. Blum et al., The National Experience, 5th ed., part 2: A History of the United States since 1865 (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1978), p. 485. Gladden's work, Tools and Man: Property and Industry under the Christian Law (New York: Houghton Mifflin and Company, 1893), was of use to the movement. Other leading figures included Horace Bushnell (1802-76), Charles M. Sheldon (1857-1946), and Shailer Mathews (1863-1941). Another important person, Walter Rauschenbusch, exerted his influence in the early twentieth century. He was the author of Christianity and the Social Crisis (New York: Macmillan Company, 1917).

<sup>64</sup>Richard T. Ely, Social Aspects of Christianity and Other Essays, new and enl. ed. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell and Company, 1889), p. 58.

<sup>65</sup>"Social Gospel," The Westminster Dictionary of the Christian Church (1971 ed.), ed. Jerald C. Brauer, pp. 775-77.

well into the nineteenth century."<sup>66</sup> In spite of myriad theories, millennial expectation was more religious than ideological in character.<sup>67</sup> The spread of religious awakenings after 1800 led the clergy in all parts of the country to believe that the spirit of the Lord was mightily at work, ushering in the millennium through the hallowing of America.<sup>68</sup>

Despite the obvious diverseness of millennial thought, and particularly a popularized postmillennialism, there was always a current of premillennialism which could be labeled "traditional premillennialism."<sup>69</sup> Some of its important characteristics were: (1) other-worldly expectations, and fervent devotional concerns, (2) historicism (the view that the fulfillment of the prophecies extends through the Christian era to the end of time), (3) the literal advent of Christ, (4) the millennium through the dynamic and cosmic intervention of God, and not a "golden age" through human efforts (5) the belief that the second coming of Christ is imminent. This traditional premillennialism continually sparked preparation for that coming, and it glowed with an

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<sup>66</sup>Brown, "Watchers," p. 451.

<sup>67</sup>Timothy L. Smith, "Righteousness and Hope: Christian Holiness and the Millennial Vision in America, 1800-1900," American Quarterly 31 (Spring 1979): 21.

<sup>68</sup>Tuveson, Redeemer Nation, pp. 53, 82.

<sup>69</sup>Yamagata, "Ellen G. White and American Premillennialism," p. 44.

expectancy to share the millennium with Christ. It was this premillennial tradition that was promoted by William Miller in the 1830s and 1840s. In recognition of Millerite premillennialism which is pertinent to this study, more attention was devoted to premillennialism in this section than to postmillennialism which was, without doubt, the most dominant of the three millennial expectations.

### The Millerite Movement

During the years 1831 to 1844 the Millerite movement arose, presented its message, and swelled to its climax.<sup>70</sup> Millerism advanced a historicist

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<sup>70</sup>Literature on the Millerite drama abounds. William Miller himself told the story in his Apology and Defence (Boston: Joshua V. Himes, 1845). His major doctrinal work is Evidence from Scripture and History of the Second Coming of Christ About the Year 1843: Exhibited in a Course of Lectures (Boston: Joshua V. Himes, 1842). This work was published seven times, between 1833 and 1842. Two early histories are: Sylvester Bliss, Memoirs of William Miller Generally Known as a Lecturer on the Prophecies and the Second Coming of Christ (Boston: Joshua V. Himes, 1853); and Isaac C. Wellcome, History of the Second Advent Message and Mission, Doctrine and People (Yarmouth, Maine: I. C. Wellcome, 1874). Some later works are: Francis D. Nichol, The Midnight Cry: Defence of William Miller and the Millerites (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1944); LeRoy Edwin Froom, The Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers, vol. 4: New World Recovery and Consummation of Prophetic Interpretation (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1954); C. Mervyn Maxwell, Tell It to the World (Mountain View, California: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1976); Everett Newton Dick, "The Adventist Crisis of 1843-1844," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1930; David T. Arthur, "Come out of Babylon": A Study of Millerite Separatism and Denominationalism, 1840-1865," Ph.D. dissertation, University of Rochester, 1970; David L. Rowe, Thunder and Trumpets:

premillennialism. William Miller presented an eschatology in reverse of the then popular postmillennialism. There were other premillennialist groups during Miller's active years, but as Whitney Cross stated, no other contemporary preacher specified so distinctly the dramatic event of the literal appearance of Christ, citing the actual year of His coming, the ascent of the saints, and the destruction of the wicked in hell.<sup>71</sup>

While the movement originated in northeastern New York, Vermont, and western Massachusetts, it later spread into many population centers in the northeastern and mid-western United States (as far as Michigan, Illinois, and probably Wisconsin), into some southern states, and into parts of Canada.<sup>72</sup>

Four years after Miller's birth in 1782, his parents moved from Pittsfield, Massachusetts, to settle at Low Hampton, New York, not far from the Vermont line. Miller, in the family tradition, and like most men of his day, became a farmer. In 1803 he married Lucy Smith and took up residence in her home township, Poultney, Vermont, just across the state line from Low Hampton.

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Millerites and Dissenting Religion in Upstate New York, 1800-1850 (Chico, Calif.: Scholars Press, 1985). Whitney R. Cross, The Burned-Over District (1950) deals with the socio-intellectual aspect of enthusiastic religion in the western New York area, 1800-1850. In spite of his central locus, Cross has included salient material concerning the Millerite Adventists of eastern New York.

<sup>71</sup>Cross, The Burned-Over District, p. 287.

<sup>72</sup>Ibid.



Miller joined the military and, during the War of 1812, occupied the rank of captain. Due to the limitations of an isolated rural community, as well as the strictures imposed by forced economic frugality, he was robbed of a formal higher education, but this did not stop him from developing his mind through independent study.<sup>73</sup> At Poultney he became acquainted with philosophical writings by Ethan Allen, Thomas Paine, Voltaire, Hume, and others. Miller, being inclined toward skepticism, embraced Deism, the religious persuasion of many of America's founding fathers.<sup>74</sup>

In 1816 Miller gave up Deism and accepted the Bible as God's inspired book and Jesus as his personal Savior. "I was constrained to admit," he wrote, "that the scriptures must be a revelation from God; they became my delight, and in Jesus I found a friend."<sup>75</sup> After the war officially ended on December 24, 1814, he returned to Low Hampton to take up permanent residence. With "more leisure for reading and reflection," he began a relent-

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<sup>73</sup>Bliss, Memoirs, pp. 31-40.

<sup>74</sup>Miller, Apology, p. 4. Deism criticized the Bible for its "supernaturalism," its demands of faith, and its presentation of prophecies. Deists also charged God with being an absentee landlord, who had abdicated His responsibility for the world. Miller experienced inner turmoil and conflict because he shifted from the religion of his parents. David L. Rowe commented on this "external projection of an inner tension" in his Thunder and Trumpets, p. 6.

<sup>75</sup>Ibid, pp. 4-5.

less study of the Bible with the aid of a concordance.<sup>76</sup>

After two years of assiduous study, Miller arrived at his conclusion concerning the time of the second advent. Although he made no public disclosure relative to his discovery, he told many individuals about it. But after thirteen years, that is in 1831, Miller took his conviction to the public and preached his first sermon on the advent. The train of events that followed gave birth to the Millerite Movement.<sup>77</sup>

#### A Brief History of the Millerite Movement

Millerism's raison d'etre became the promulgation of the imminence of Christ's return in the near future, namely "about A. D. 1843."<sup>78</sup> The Millerites regarded their movement not only as an integral part of the advent proclamation that had developed almost simultaneously in many countries in the early decades of the nineteenth century, but as the continuation and culmination of that awakening.<sup>79</sup> Sources differ as to the number of periods through which the Millerite movement passed. This study notes six periods in the development of the movement.

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<sup>76</sup>Ibid., p. 6.

<sup>77</sup>SDAE, 1976 ed., pp. 892-98. A major portion of the material in the next three sections was drawn from this source.

<sup>78</sup>Miller, Apology, p. 11.

<sup>79</sup>Ibid., p. 892; Froom, Prophetic Faith, 3:262-82.

The first period (1831-1840) witnessed the development of Millerism from that of an individual effort to that of a group endeavor. Miller began his public ministry in 1831. He became acquainted with Joshua V. Himes in 1839. The next year the movement accelerated. Himes, minister of the Chardon Street Christian Connection Chapel in Boston, had previously been an evangelist, trade unionist, abolitionist, temperance crusader, and Garrisonian, who had opened his congregation to a variety of energetic reforms.<sup>80</sup> During that first period, Himes encouraged Miller to launch out into the large cities, and to publicize his work through literature. He also devoted a lot of his own time, energy, means, and organizing abilities to advance Millerism.

Himes made many dynamic contributions. Perhaps his greatest was through publications. In February 1840, without money or subscription list, he launched the first Adventist periodical, Signs of the Times. It catapulted Adventism into prominence.<sup>81</sup>

The launching of the Signs of the Times (later the Advent Herald) took place in Boston. Five thousand copies were printed weekly.<sup>82</sup>

The publication of literature soon became an important activity of the Millerites. In 1842 the energetic Himes launched another paper, The Midnight Cry. He

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<sup>80</sup>Cross, Burned-Over District, pp. 292-93.

<sup>81</sup>Maxwell, Tell It, p. 18.

<sup>82</sup>Arthur, "Come Out," p. 42.

also published three hundred copies of a prophetic chart developed by Charles Fitch and Appolos Hale. The circulation of books, pamphlets, and tracts escalated rapidly. For example, the "Second Advent Library," an accumulation of several Millerite publications, carried forty-three titles.<sup>83</sup>

The second period (1840-1842) was one of consolidation through general conferences. On October 4, 1840, Miller, Himes, and the other leaders called the first general conference for the consolidation of the movement and the outlining of strategies. Several other conferences followed.<sup>84</sup> By May 1842, after the conclusion of the twelfth general conference, 1843 was more definitely emphasized as the year for the second advent. David T. Arthur, after treating the first conference in great detail, has alluded to about twenty other general conferences that the millerites got together before the first "passing of the time"--the disappointment of April

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<sup>83</sup>SDAE, 1976., ed. p. 893. See also, Arthur, "Come Out," pp. 42, 43. Including Miller's Apology, a few other titles in the "Second Advent Library" are: Joshua Spalding, Sentiments Concerning the Coming Kingdom of Christ, 2d ed. (Boston: J. V. Himes, 1841); William Miller, Dissertation on the True Inheritance of the Saints (Boston: J. V. Himes, 1842); idem, Synopsis of Miller's Views (Boston: J. V. Himes, 1843); James Sabine, The Appearing and Kingdom of Our Lord Jesus Christ (Boston: J. V. Himes, 1842); George Bush, Reasons for Rejecting Mr. Miller's Views on the Advent, With Mr. Miller's Reply (Boston: J. V. Himes, 1844).

<sup>84</sup>Bliss, Memoirs, p. 144.

1844.<sup>85</sup> In the meantime, the movement consolidated.

The third period (1842-1844) was one of expansion and opposition. The Millerites capitalized on the camp meeting as a major means of disseminating their teachings. The first was held from June 28 to July 6, 1842. Nichol has claimed that it was an audacious move for the Millerites to convene camp meetings. Both the organizers and those who attended faced several obstacles, specially financial limitation.<sup>86</sup> Maxwell has reported that the Millerites held one hundred and twenty-five camp meetings between 1842 and 1844. These gatherings attracted a total attendance of "at least half a million."<sup>87</sup>

The Millerite Movement had all the ingredients of an exciting affair. The expansion of the movement elicited opposition from church organizations, pastors, theologians, the general public, and the press. Millerism was labeled fanaticism. A flood of damaging rumors charged the Millerites with insanity, thievery, and the preparing of ascension robes. Nichol, after examining these allegations with painstaking scrutiny, seriously questioned their veracity. He argued that even though some Millerite members may have behaved over-zealously, malicious elements in the society mounted a vicious

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<sup>85</sup>Arthur, "Come Out," pp. 17-43. This work has extensive details on the Millerite general conferences.

<sup>86</sup>Nichol, Midnight Cry, p. 105.

<sup>87</sup>Maxwell, Tell It, p. 22.

orchestrated campaign to discredit the entire movement.<sup>88</sup> Cross's support of Nichol's refutation should forestall to some extent the critics' accusation that Nichol was a biased apologist.<sup>89</sup>

The fourth phase of the Millerite Movement grew out of the experience of the first disappointment. Prior to December 1842, Miller kept to the non-specific time--"about 1843"--for the second advent to occur. After the sixteenth general conference held in Boston in May 1842, however, pressure from sections of the movement for a more specific time led Miller to place the expectation "between March 21st, 1843 and March 21st, 1844." He gave the following explanation:

I had never been positive as to any particular day for the Lord's appearing, believing that no man could know the day and hour. . . . In 1842, some of my brethren preached with great positiveness the exact year, and censured me for putting an IF. The public press had also published that I had fixed upon a definite day, the 23d of April, for the Lord's Advent. Therefore, in December of that year, as I could see no error in my reckoning, I published my belief, that sometime between March 21st, 1843, and March 21st, 1844, the Lord would come.<sup>90</sup>

Fully convinced that this period terminated the 2,300-day prophecy of Dan 8:14, Miller had also synchronized his calculation of the year with the calculation preserved by the Karaite Jews. But Miller had arbitrarily chosen

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<sup>88</sup>Nichol, Midnight Cry, pp. 470-74.

<sup>89</sup>Cross, Burned-Over District, p. 306.

<sup>90</sup>Miller, Apology, p. 24.

March 21, the date of the spring equinox, for the closing of the year (the cut-off point chosen by the Rabbinical Jews), instead of April 19/20, the date selected by the Karaite Jews. (This date corresponded to the new moon of the month Nisan which was closest to the barley harvest in Judea.)<sup>91</sup> Finally, however, the date of the second advent was advanced to April 1844. In spite of this advancement, Joshua Himes still felt embarrassed when the March 1844 date arrived and Jesus had not come, for "our time will be regarded by our opponents as having passed by." Himes's hope was yet strong since "the Jewish year has not expired, but extends to the new moon in April."<sup>92</sup> The Lord did not come, and His nonappearance caused much grief among the Millerites.

In retrospect, some Seventh-day Adventist historians believe that the non-specificity with regard to a particular date saved the Millerites from the unutterable anguish that this first disappointment could have inflicted. Maxwell, for example, has stated that "their disappointment in the spring of 1844 was not so acute as it was going to be on the day after October 22, [1844]."<sup>93</sup> Schwarz has concluded that it was not a very

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<sup>91</sup>For a good treatment of this subject relative to the differences in the calendar year as seen by the Rabbinic and Karaite Jews, see Damsteegt, Foundations, pp. 84, 85.

<sup>92</sup>J[oshua] V. H[imes], "The Vernal Equinox," MC 7 (April 4, 1844): 297.

<sup>93</sup>Maxwell, Tell It, p. 26.

"dramatic disappointment" because no specific date had been chosen ahead of the occurrence.<sup>94</sup>

Some of the Adventists who became disillusioned and blamed Miller either lapsed into carelessness or skepticism, or returned to their former churches. Prior to the disappointment, Miller had opposed the idea of separation from the Protestant churches. Many Millerites had done so, however, in spite of Miller's objection. David T. Arthur expressed the view that "Millerism had become separatist in spite of itself."<sup>95</sup> Miller himself confessed that separatism "was a result, which I never desired, nor expected; but it was brought about by unforeseen circumstances."<sup>96</sup> On account of the alienation and bitterness that emerged after the disappointment, he changed his position and did not stand in the way of those who wanted to leave the Protestant churches.<sup>97</sup> Those Millerites who survived the spring 1844 disappointment--and most of them remained with the movement--began to restudy the prophetic chronology to find out the reason for their mistake.

The fifth phase (Summer 1844-Autumn 1844) of the

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<sup>94</sup>Schwarz, Light Bearers, p. 49.

<sup>95</sup>Arthur, "Come Out," p. 76. This point concerning Miller's views on separating or not separating from the Protestant churches remains a debatable one.

<sup>96</sup>Miller, Apology, p. 25.

<sup>97</sup>Joshua V. Himes, "Separation from the Churches," MC 7 (September 12, 1844): 80.



Millerite Movement began when a new date was set for the cleansing of the sanctuary and the coming of the Lord, "the tenth day of the seventh month," which was the date for the Day of Atonement (Lev 23:27).<sup>98</sup> That date corresponded with October 22, 1844. Samuel Snow publicly announced the new date (the tenth day of the seventh month) for the second advent in August 1844 at the Exeter, New Hampshire camp meeting.<sup>99</sup> This was the commencement of the "seventh-month movement." At first, Miller and Himes separated themselves from the new movement and its message: the true midnight cry. But later, the many conversions and the rededication of his followers led him to renewed Bible study, and finally, to associate with the movement. He confessed that he decided to join the Midnight Cry "two to three weeks before October 22, [1844]," after "I was persuaded that it was the work of God."<sup>100</sup> The "seventh-month movement" fired the Millerites with a crusading zeal to warn the world to prepare for the Lord's coming.

The sixth phase of the Millerite Movement was marked by the Great Disappointment of October 22, 1844. The day had dawned finding the Millerites in a state of high expectancy. Again, Christ did not come. This second

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<sup>98</sup>"Day of Atonement," MC 7 (Feb. 22, 1844): 243-44; Froom, Prophetic Faith, 4:799-804.

<sup>99</sup>Ibid., 4:803.

<sup>100</sup>Miller, Apology, p. 25.

disappointment shook the foundations of Millerism. One source poignantly noted that

they truly believed they would meet Him; that with others "loved long since, and lost awhile," they would be gathered into a blest abode where sorrow, sickness, and death are no more. But as the sun sank in the west, their hopes sank with it. Some waited until midnight; then their disappointment became a certainty.<sup>101</sup>

This harsh disappointment tore the hearts of the loyal Millerites. It was bitter, embarrassing, and frustrating. Miller moaned: "Our disappointment was great; and many walked no more with us."<sup>102</sup> In spite of what had happened, he said that his faith was unswerving with respect to his deductions.<sup>103</sup> Miller's attitude reflected that of many of his followers.

The movement, unprepared for the dilemma of 1844, subsided significantly and finally split into dissenting factions. Some of these factions assumed visible form and voice in the conference at Albany, New York, in April 1845. The disintegration of Millerism is discussed in the following section.

#### The Three-Way Split of Millerism

A major crisis faced Millerism after the Great Disappointment of October 22, 1844. Many adherents fell

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<sup>101</sup>SDAE, 1976 ed., p. 894.

<sup>102</sup>Miller, Apology, p. 24.

<sup>103</sup>Ibid.

away in dissillusionment. The movement became so splint-  
ered that sources differ as to the number of groups that  
issued from it. This study adopts the view that the  
remaining Millerites split into three main groups accord-  
ing to their interpretation of Dan 8:14.<sup>104</sup>

The first group, which included Miller, Himes,  
and most of the leaders, maintained at the Albany Confer-  
ence of April 1845 that they had been correct in their  
conclusion in applying the 2,300-day prophecy and the  
parable of the bridegroom (Matt 25) to the second coming  
of Christ. They reasoned, however, that since Jesus had  
not come, the error was in their chronology. They taught  
that there had been no fulfillment whatsoever of  
prophecy in 1843 or 1844, and that the specific "time  
movement" was a mistake. Based on this understanding,

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<sup>104</sup>Both Damsteegt and Schwarz have presented four  
groups. Damsteegt first dealt with the four general div-  
isions, citing Apollos Hale, "Editorial Correspondence,"  
Advent Herald, September 10, 1845, p. 40. He (Damsteegt)  
then named five Protestant bodies that "in time" arose  
out of the four groups: "Evangelical Adventists, SDA,  
Advent Christians, Life and Advent Union, and 'Age-to-  
Come Adventists'" (Foundations, pp. 114-15). Schwarz has  
listed the following: (1) the Sabbatarian Adventists  
who eventually formed the Seventh-day Adventist Church;  
(2) the Boston group that was led by a cluster of the  
original Millerite leaders (Miller, Himes, Bliss, and  
Hale, etc.) and was absorbed into mainstream Protes-  
tantism; (3) Joseph Turner's group, which congregated  
mainly in the Hartford, Connecticut-New York City area,  
and known today as the Advent Christian Church; (4) the  
Rochester, New York, group that was led by Joseph Marsh,  
and was never strong as a result of their determined  
resistance against organizing into a legal body. In 1862  
Himes broke from the main group in Boston, joined  
Turner's followers, and accepted the "soul sleep" doc-  
trine that they espoused. See Schwarz, Light Bearers, p.  
57; cf., Arthur, "Come Out," pp. 277-306, 339-71.

some influential members of this group continued to believe that the second advent was near. Miller looked to the end of the Jewish year 1844 (i.e., by the spring of 1845). H. H. Gross and Joseph Marsh expected the advent in 1846, and when it did not occur, Marsh extended his expectation to 1847.<sup>105</sup>

The second group spiritualized the event of the second advent. They held that Christ had actually come within the hearts of his saints at the time they had announced. These were called "the spiritualizers."<sup>106</sup>

The third group stood between the first two groups in their interpretation of the prophecies. They posited, in contrast to the first group, that the prophetic chronology had been correct, but that the error lay in the event expected. They also, in contrast to the second group, kept to the view that the advent would be literal, physical, and visible, and that it was still future.<sup>107</sup> The founders and pioneers of the Seventh-day Adventist Church emerged out of this third group.

The importance of Millerism to this study resides

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<sup>105</sup>Ibid. For more time settings after the Great Disappointment see, Froom, Prophetic Faith, 4:858; Arthur, "Come Out," pp. 91-96; Schwarz, Light Bearers, p. 54.

<sup>106</sup>ST(M) 3 (June 1, 1842):69.

<sup>107</sup>Samuel Snow, MC 7 (March 2, 1844): 353. See also, Bliss, Memoirs, pp. 269-79; Froom, Prophetic Faith, 3:799-804; Nichol, Midnight Cry, p. 274.

in the fact that the Seventh-day Adventist Church is an outgrowth of the Millerite Movement. Eventually, it became the largest of the groups that sprouted from Millerism. Consequently, the eschatological foundations of the Seventh-day Adventist Church are closely related to Millerite eschatology.

#### Characteristics of Millerite Eschatology

Even though there were some common denominators that categorized premillennialist groups in Miller's day, Millerite premillennialist eschatology possessed some distinctive features that set it apart from both the postmillennialist and the other premillennialist eschatologies of Miller's time. Millerism was, at the time, the preeminent premillennialist teaching. The following summary is applied to Millerite premillennialist eschatology because of the significance Millerism holds for this study:

1. Millerism admitted no docile premillennialist eschatology. Miller's prophetic exposition of Dan 8: 14, particularly, produced an apocalyptic eschatology. Millerism taught a literal, physical, and visible descent of Jesus from the clouds at His second coming, at which time the righteous dead would be raised to join the righteous living to meet Jesus in the air. The earth would then be regenerated and all the righteous people, in an incorruptible state, would "reign with Him forever

in the regenerated earth."<sup>108</sup> In this sequence, the bodies of the wicked would be destroyed at the second coming. Miller himself said little about the close of the millennium. Later Millerites, however, commented on this aspect of the doctrine, stating that a final "damnation" of the wicked would take place after the second resurrection at the end of the millennium. Millerites placed the millennium (to be spent on earth) between the first and second resurrections.<sup>109</sup>

2. The Millerites differed from their contemporaries concerning the millennial reign. Action by resolution was taken at the twelfth general conference of the Adventists rejecting three alternative views of the millennium: (a) the belief in a millennium, literal or figurative, prior to the second coming of Christ, (b) the idea of a literal restoration of the Jews to "Old Jerusalem," and (c) the view that a period of "probation [opportunity for conversion] after Christ's coming" would be extended to the inhabitants of the earth.

3. The phrase "midnight cry" became a Millerite trademark. It was, for example, the name of one of their principal publications. The phrase originated from Christ's parable about the wise and foolish virgins who were awaiting the bridegroom (Matt 25: 1-13). In the

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<sup>108</sup>Miller, Evidence from Scripture, pp. 48ff. Cf. ST(M) 4 (January 25, 1843): 17.

<sup>109</sup>Wellcome, History, p. 604-605.

summer of 1844, the Millerites launched a new crusade--the "seventh-month movement"--that specifically voiced the belief that Christ would come on the tenth day of the seventh month.<sup>110</sup> The message of this movement was considered the "true midnight cry."

4. With respect to prophetic interpretation, the Millerites, like most premillennialists of their day, were historicists.<sup>111</sup>

5. William Miller's interpretation of Dan 8:14 had a significant impact on his eschatology. The cleansing of the sanctuary, the climax of the 2,300-day prophecy, was for Miller the purification of the earth by fire (including the burning of the wicked) at the second advent. He believed that this intervention by God would mean the end of the reign of sin and the commencement of Christ's literal reign of righteousness on earth. "I need not speak of the joy that filled my heart," he exclaimed, "in view of the delightful prospect, . . . for participation in the joys of the redeemed."<sup>112</sup>

This eschatology made all other reform movements irrelevant. The Advent Hope stimulated preparation of an ethical as well as a devotional kind of life-style. For example, debts had to be paid, confessions had to be

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<sup>110</sup>Froom, Prophetic Faith, 4:833-36.

<sup>111</sup>Ibid., 4:840-42.

<sup>112</sup>Miller, Apology, p. 12.

made, a close relationship with the Lord had to be maintained through Bible study and prayer, and the cultivating and nurturing of such attitudes that fostered the growth of a character for heaven, were the priorities of the Millerites.

### Summary

In spite of the fact that Jesus did not come at the time predicted, the idea of an imminent second advent continued to exert a strong appeal among many persons. The basic Millerite ideas, therefore, were not hysterical and exciting fantasies. The biblical bases upon which they founded their eschatology may fairly be described as reasonable and sound.

Time-setting aside, Millerite expectation regarding an imminent premillennial second advent, boldly announced by the "midnight cry," was unique. Millerite apocalyptic eschatology (anchored in Dan 8:14) issued a sharp polemic against the dominant postmillennialism of its day and provoked discomfort and opposition from even the declared premillennialist Protestant groups.

Yet Millerite teachings reached back historically, since they struck similar chords that had brought hope to some early, medieval, and Reformation Christians. In the next section of this study, we treat the rise of Seventh-day Adventists, a Millerite offspring. This denomination has developed to be the most dominant of all the groups that sprang from Millerism.



The Rise of the Seventh-day Adventist Church

The Seventh-day Adventist Church is a conservative Christian body that arose in the nineteenth century. International in its scope, it concurs with the sola Scriptura principle of the Protestant Reformation, observes the seventh-day Sabbath of the Bible, and gives prominence in its teachings to the second coming of Christ, which it believes is imminent. This section of the study treats the origin of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, the formulation of its key doctrines, the decision to set up a formal organization, and the early development of its eschatological teachings.

Sprouting from Millerite  
Roots

The Seventh-day Adventist Church is an offspring of the Millerite movement that was fractured by the Great Disappointment of 1844. As was noted above, the Millerite movement divided into at least three groups, namely: Miller's and Himes's group (now defunct, having being absorbed into mainstream Protestantism), Joseph Turner's group (known today as the Advent Christian Church), and very importantly, the Sabbatarian Adventist group (presently, the Seventh-day Adventists). Miller, Himes, and the other leaders convened the Albany Conference on April 29, 1845, with the hope of reestablishing unity. They discovered, however, that a conference could not

magically produce a monolithic organization out of the disparate remnants of Millerism.<sup>113</sup>

It is of significance that one of the smallest groups whose leaders did not even attend the Albany conference, eventually became the largest and the most globally influential of the Adventist bodies.<sup>114</sup> The founders of the Sabbatarian Adventists were James White, his wife, Ellen G. White (nee Ellen Gould Harmon), and Joseph Bates.<sup>115</sup> Co-founders of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in 1863 included David Arnold, Hiram Edson, J. N. Andrews, J. N. Loughborough, and Uriah Smith.<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>113</sup>David Arnold Dean, "Echoes of the Midnight Cry: The Millerite Heritage in the Apologetics of the Advent Christian Denomination, 1860-1960," Ph.D. dissertation, Western Theological Seminary, 1976, p. 109.

<sup>114</sup>Froom, Prophetic Faith, 4:842.

<sup>115</sup>"Bates, Joseph"; "White, Ellen Gould"; "White, James Springer," SDAE, 1976 ed., pp. 132-34; 1584-97; 1599-1604. For more information on these leaders, see the following sources: On James White (1821-1881), see, James White, Life Incidents in Connection with the Great Advent Movement (Battle Creek, Mich: Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1868); on Ellen White, (1827-1915), see, Ellen G. White, Life Sketches of Ellen G. White (Mountain View, Calif: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1915); on Joseph Bates (1792-1872), see, Joseph Bates, The Autobiography of Elder Joseph Bates (Battle Creek, Mich: Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1868).

<sup>116</sup>"Andrews, John Nevins (1829-1883)"; "Arnold, David (1805-1889)"; "Edson, Hiram (1806-1882)"; "Loughborough, John Norton (1832-1924)"; and "Smith, Uriah (1832-1903)," SDAE, 1976 ed., pp. 43-44; 83; 412-13; 8115-16; 1355-56.

David Arnold was a Millerite who accepted the Sabbath after 1844. He associated with James White in publishing the Advent Review (1850). Arnold became the first president of the New York Conference. The second of

These leaders forged the scattered elements of Sabbatarian Adventists together at a series of "Sanctuary and Sabbath conferences" that were held between 1848 and 1850, with six gatherings in the first year, six in the second, and ten in the last.<sup>117</sup>

"Sanctuary and Sabbath Conferences": The Dissemination of the "Foundation" Doctrines

The first 1848 conference convened at Rocky Hill, Connecticut, from April 20 to 24, in a house belonging to Albert Belden. The Whites and Joseph Bates attended. Ellen White reported that "the brethren came in until we numbered fifty," and that "Brother Bates presented the commandments in clear light." James White spoke about the "significance of the third angel's message."<sup>118</sup>

A theory which has almost become traditional held for some time that the doctrinal "foundations" of Sabbatarian Adventism were laid at the "Sanctuary and Sabbath" conferences. Arthur L. White and L. E. Froom strongly proposed this view in separate works in 1954. White concluded that at these early meetings the

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several Sabbath conferences (the Volney meeting) was held in his carriage house during August 1848. (For additional information, see Froom, Prophetic Faith, 4:1022, 1086, 1087.)

<sup>117</sup>"Sabbath Conferences," SDAE, 1976 ed., 1255-56; Froom, Prophetic Faith, 4:1021-48; Spalding, Origin and History, 1:90-95.

<sup>118</sup>White, Life Sketches, p. 110. Froom, Prophetic Faith, 4:1022.

distinctive doctrines were restudied, and several points of truth were formed into one united belief."<sup>119</sup> Froom declared that the participants met for systematic Bible study and intercessory prayer in order to reach united conclusions, so as "to build up a system of truth from the foundations."<sup>120</sup> He further avowed that

these conferences were vital, and proved to be a unifying force, consolidating the positions of the growing Sabbatarian group, as well as molding and shaping the future course of an emerging movement, soon destined to be heard from.<sup>121</sup>

In 1966 an important denominational source published the same opinion that "during some of these conferences . . . the principal points of faith must have been studied out."<sup>122</sup> And this studying out was done by "apparently, leading brethren."<sup>123</sup>

This view is questionable. Spalding did not subscribe to this understanding when he dealt with the convocations. His view was that these conferences "began to collect and bind together the believers in the Sabbath truth."<sup>124</sup> This concept underscores the idea of

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<sup>119</sup>Arthur L. White, Ellen G. White: Messenger to the Remnant (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1954), p. 38.

<sup>120</sup>Froom, Prophetic Faith, 4:1032.

<sup>121</sup>*Ibid.*, 4:1021.

<sup>122</sup>"Sabbath Conferences," SDAE, 1966 ed., p. 1122. (In the 1976 ed., see, p. 1256.)

<sup>123</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>124</sup>Spalding, Origin and History, 1:191.

unification and organization when the denomination was in its infancy. Damsteegt, in treating the "formation of the Seventh-day Adventist theology of mission," did not structure his exposition on the premise that the Sabbath conferences were the workshops for doctrinal development.<sup>125</sup> He did, however, cite Froom when he (Damsteegt) stated that "differences of interpretation on various aspects relating to the Sabbath and Advent experience led" to a series of conferences in 1848. The aim was to achieve "more uniformity."<sup>126</sup> Maxwell treated the "third angel's message" in its developmental stages and did not subscribe to the theory.<sup>127</sup> Seemingly, Schwarz attributed partial acquiescence to the view by stating that at "such meetings they could not only confirm each other in the faith, but also hammer out more complete details of last-day prophecies and correct errors in their religious beliefs."<sup>128</sup>

Gordon O. Martinborough has presented a carefully reasoned rebuttal to this theory.<sup>129</sup> Martinborough has

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<sup>125</sup>Damsteegt, Foundations, 103-64.

<sup>126</sup>Ibid., p. 143, citing Froom, Prophetic Faith, 4:1021-27.

<sup>127</sup>Maxwell, Tell It, pp. 85-94.

<sup>128</sup>Schwarz, Light Bearers, p. 68.

<sup>129</sup>Gordon O. Martinborough, "The Beginnings of a Theology of the Sabbath Among American Sabbatarian Adventists, 1824-1850," M. A. thesis, Loma Linda University Graduate School, 1976.

argued that "four of the five doctrinal 'foundations' were already laid by 1847."<sup>130</sup> The question is germane: What made up these "foundations"? A brief look at two statements from Ellen White would help in answering this question. In 1889 Ellen White in reflecting upon the 1888 General Conference session, referred to "the old landmarks." In a sort of reprimand against those who "rejected with all . . . stubbornness" the 1888 message, she pointed out what constituted the doctrinal foundations of Sabbatarian Adventism. Here is a part of what she wrote:

There was much talk about standing by the old landmarks. But there was evidence that they knew not what the old landmarks were. . . .

The passing of the time in 1844 was a period of great events, opening to our astonished eyes the cleansing of the sanctuary transpiring in heaven, and having decided relation to God's people upon the earth, [also] the first and second angel's messages and the third, unfurling the banner on which was inscribed, "The commandments of God and the faith of Jesus." One of the landmarks under this message was the temple of God, seen by His truth-loving people in heaven, and the ark containing the law of God. The light of the Sabbath of the fourth commandment flashed its strong rays in the pathway of the transgressors of God's law. The nonimmortality of the wicked is an old landmark. I can call to mind nothing more ~~that~~ can come under the head of the old landmarks.<sup>131</sup>

So the "landmarks" referred to by Ellen White were the

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<sup>130</sup>Ibid., p. 123.

<sup>131</sup>Ellen G. White, "Landmarks Defined," MS 13, 1889, EGWE-AU. See also, idem, Counsels to Writers and Editors (Nashville, Tennessee: Southern Publishing Association, 1946), pp. 30, 31.

second advent, the sanctuary, the law and the Sabbath, the three angels' messages, and the "nonimmortality of the wicked" (obviously meaning the non-immortality of the soul).

The other Ellen White statement appeared in 1904.

A portion of it follows:

Many of our people do not realize how firmly the foundation of our faith has been laid. My husband, Elder Joseph Bates, Father Pierce, Elder [Hiram] Edson, and others who were keen, noble, and true, were among those who, after the passing of the time in 1844, searched for the truth as for hidden treasure. I met with them, and we studied and prayed earnestly. Often we remained together until late at night, and sometimes through the entire night, praying for light and studying the Word. Again and again these brethren came together to study the Bible, in order that they might know its meaning, and be prepared to teach it with power. . . .

During this whole time I could not understand the reasoning of the brethren. My mind was locked, as it were and I could not comprehend the meaning of the scriptures we were studying.<sup>132</sup>

The above statements, to a large extent, were misapplied to form the base of the theory that doctrinal foundations were laid at the Sabbath conferences. Arthur White actually quoted the first statement to lend support to his point of view.<sup>133</sup> In neither statement was Ellen White referring to the Sabbath conferences. Froom had applied the first statement to the 1848 conferences but changed his position several years later, stating that the gatherings "were of short duration, . . . not lengthy

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<sup>132</sup>Idem, Selected Messages, 1:206, 207.

<sup>133</sup>Arthur White, Messenger, p. 38.

conferences for comprehensive study." Further, with regard to the second Ellen White statement, she called attention to "two or three years" when "my mind was locked" as her husband and others "searched for the truth as for hidden treasure." Froom has expressed some uncertainty as to whether that reference to the study sessions could apply to the Sabbath conferences (particularly during 1849-50).<sup>134</sup>

With regard to the first statement, four of the "landmark" doctrines were decided upon before 1848. The fifth, the state of the dead, had already become an established doctrine in the decade of the 1850s. In the second statement, Ellen White could not have had the 1848 conferences in mind, but rather regular study groups comprised of her husband (James White), Joseph Bates, and others. A parallel Ellen White account states in part that "it was sometime after my second son was born that we were in great perplexity regarding certain points of doctrine."<sup>135</sup> In view of the fact that her second son,

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<sup>134</sup>LeRoy Edwin Froom, Movement of Destiny (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1971), p. 85 (including n. 2). Even though Froom modified his position seventeen years later by conceding that the 1848 convocations were "concentrated meetings for the presentation, [and] promulgation, . . . of these major, newly discerned doctrinal truths," he still maintained that the "foundations" of a "coordinated faith" were laid at the 1848 conferences (p. 86).

<sup>135</sup>Ellen G. White, "Establishing the Foundation of Our Faith," MS 135, 1903, EGWE-AU.



James Edson, was born on July 28, 1849,<sup>136</sup> it is reasonable to conclude that some of the study sessions to which Ellen White referred in the second statement took place during 1849 and in 1850.<sup>137</sup> These sessions were not synonymous with the Sabbath conferences. It was during these ad hoc meetings that more study was given "to Christ, His mission, and His priesthood,"<sup>138</sup> or to the sanctuary doctrine. As a corollary of the sanctuary studies, the Millerite "shut door" doctrine received attention and was exchanged for the "open door of mercy" instead during these small gatherings in 1849 and 1850.<sup>139</sup> Consequently, as Martinborough has summed up:

We have seen that four of the five doctrinal "foundations" were already laid by 1847. In 1848 only one significant theological concept emerged--the Sabbath as God's seal and this was only a supplement to the existing doctrine of the seventh-day [Sabbath]. . . .

Therefore, when E. G. White referred to "points" of doctrine, she was speaking, not about their initial emergence, but of their re-emergence in the context of new insights into the subject of the sanctuary. She was referring not to their significant appearance, but to their re-appearance in harmony with the open door of mercy. She was talking about a new harmonious eschatological "line of truth."<sup>140</sup>

What purpose then did the Sanctuary and Sabbath

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<sup>136</sup>Idem, Life Sketches, p. 127.

<sup>137</sup>Martinborough, "Theology of the Sabbath," p. 128 (n. 4).

<sup>138</sup>Ellen G. White, Selected Messages, 1:206.

<sup>139</sup>Idem, "Foundation," MS 135, 1903, EGWE-AU.

<sup>140</sup>Martinborough, "Theology of the Sabbath," pp. 152, 153.

conferences serve? In addition to the forging together of the scattered elements of Sabbatarian Adventists, two or three of the conferences were "general meeting[s]"<sup>141</sup> for the dissemination of doctrines that were already worked out. For example, a participant at the Volney conference wanted to discuss the millennium and the 144,000. Others present requested that other subjects be discussed. James White firmly rejected the idea. In recounting the experience several years later, he stated that if the people were allowed what they requested, "the meeting would have proved a failure."<sup>142</sup> It was not a time to settle doctrinal differences, White said; it was a time for proclamation and announcement. The conferences were not essentially a meeting of the minds of "apparently leading brethren" only. They were heterogeneous gatherings. As a result of the composition of the congregations, "the preachers performed an evangelistic function."<sup>143</sup> They sought to bind together and help to reaffirm the faith of the believers, while at the same time they tried to lead to a decision and to nurture those who had not fully accepted the teachings.<sup>144</sup>

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<sup>141</sup>James White, Life Incidents, p. 271.

<sup>142</sup>Ibid., p. 274. The first Volney, New York, conference convened August 16, 1848, at David Arnold's barn.

<sup>143</sup>Martinborough, "Theology of the Sabbath," p. 137.

<sup>144</sup>James White, "A Brief Sketch," RH 3 (May 6,

Factually, it was not evangelism as we know it today, but the elements of evangelism were there just the same. For example, the congregation that gathered for the first of two conferences held at Rocky Hill, Connecticut, was comprised of persons "already in the truth," and persons "not . . . in the truth," or "not fully decided." From this second group, "some who were undecided took a stand on the Sabbath" truth.<sup>145</sup>

While social factors do exert some influence on religion, the spiritual factor was prominent among the Sabbatarian Adventists. Divine claims and apocalyptic verities weighed heavily upon them. In addition, the visions of Ellen White, the many hours of assiduous study of the Scriptures, a childlike faith in God, and their acceptance of unpopular doctrines helped to bind them together, and to chart new frontiers for the making of the Seventh-day Adventist Church.

#### Formulation of a Doctrinal Position

Several years before their official name and formal organization, Sabbatarian Adventists had already

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1852): 5. Known presently as the Adventist Review, this most important periodical of the Seventh-day Adventist denomination, has had several names throughout its history. This study uses Review and Herald (RH) entirely. "Sabbath Conferences," SDAE, 1976 ed., p. 1256; Spalding, Origin and History, 1:191.

<sup>145</sup>E. G. White, Life Sketches, p. 108; James White to Hastings, August 26, 1848, cited in Martinborough, "Theology of the Sabbath," p. 137.

agreed on the foundation doctrines of their denomination. The young group kept many of the basic elements of Millerite theology, even though there were deletions and additions to these elements. For example, with respect to the 2,300 year-day prophecy of Dan 8:14, Sabbatarian Adventists reshaped the Millerite interpretation. The Millerites had taught that the phrase in the prophecy stating "then shall the sanctuary be cleansed," meant the cleansing of the earth by fire at the second advent, which they timed to occur at the end of the prophetic period (i.e., October 22, 1844). For the Millerites, therefore, the judgment in Dan 7:9-14 paralleled the second coming which they wrongly saw in Dan 8:14.<sup>146</sup> As early as the 1840s, Sabbatarian Adventists, developed a distinctive sanctuary theology with the pre-advent judgment forming its central core. In 1857 James White provided the name "investigative judgment."<sup>147</sup> More attention is given to the sanctuary and the pre-advent judgment later in this chapter.

Sabbatarian Adventists proudly affirmed that they had no creed save the Bible. In the first issue of the Review, the editor, James White in "Our Present

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<sup>146</sup>Maxwell, Tell It, pp. 115-24. Maxwell has presented a clear synopsis of the shift from the Millerite to the Sabbatarian Adventist concept of the judgment.

<sup>147</sup>James White, "The Judgment," RH 9 (January 29, 1857): 100, 101.

Position," pointed out this basic source of their beliefs. White said: "Our position is clearly marked out in the word of God."<sup>148</sup> In harmony with the eschatological emphasis that this study seeks to highlight, it is of importance to note that in this same issue White stressed the centrality of "the fourteenth chapter of Revelation [as] one of those clear prophecies which show plainly our whereabouts."<sup>149</sup> In 1853 James White issued a fuller statement concerning this claim in reply to a query from the Seventh Day Baptist Church about the beliefs of the Sabbatarian Adventists. This latter statement could be considered "perhaps the first Seventh-day Adventist statement of faith."<sup>150</sup> White said:

As a people we are brought together from divisions of the Advent body [the Millerites], and from the various denominations, holding different views on some subjects; yet, thank heaven, the Sabbath is a mighty platform on which we can all stand united. And standing here, with the aid of no other creed than the Word of God . . . all party feelings are lost. We are united in these great subjects: Christ's immediate, personal, second Advent, and the observance of all the commandments of God, and the faith of his Son Jesus Christ, as necessary to readiness for his Advent.<sup>151</sup>

In December of the same year, White explained the

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<sup>148</sup>Idem, "Our Present Position," RH 1 (December 1850): 13-15.

<sup>149</sup>Ibid., p. 15.

<sup>150</sup>"Doctrinal Statements, SDA," SDAE, 1976 ed., p. 395.

<sup>151</sup>James White, "Reply [to J. C. Rogers]," RH 4 (August 11, 1853): 52.

relation between church organization and unity of belief, without the need of man-made creeds. He stated that the church "is provided with a creed that is sufficient: 'All scripture is given by inspiration of God.'"<sup>152</sup>

The development of the church's doctrinal position took a new form in 1872, when a pamphlet containing twenty-five "Fundamental Principles" came off the Battle Creek press.<sup>153</sup> These principles reappeared in the first issue of the Seventh-day Adventist Signs of the Times in 1874, and in other publications through the end of the nineteenth century. The opening words of the introductory statement of these "Fundamental Principles" revived the no-creed position, stating:

In presenting to the public this synopsis of our faith, we wish to have it distinctly understood that we have no articles of faith, creed, or discipline, aside from the Bible. We do not put forth this as having any authority with our people, nor is it designed to secure uniformity among them, as a system of faith, but is a brief statement of what is, and has been, with great unanimity, held by them.<sup>154</sup>

Below is a summary of the propositions contained in the 1872 statement of "Fundamental Principles."<sup>155</sup>

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<sup>152</sup>[James White], "Gospel Order," RH 4 (December 13, 1853): 180.

<sup>153</sup>"Doctrinal Statements, SDA," SDAE, 1976 ed., p. 395.

<sup>154</sup>"Fundamental Principles," ST 1 (June 4, 1874): 3.

<sup>155</sup>Ibid. See the appendix for a complete list of the "Fundamental Principles" in the 1872 statement.

Three propositions presented the views of the Seventh-day Adventists concerning the scriptures. They believed that the "Scriptures . . . were given by inspiration of God, and contain a full revelation of his will" to all people. They accepted the Scriptures as "the only infallible rule of faith and practice." They also believed in the importance of prophecy, and the historicist method of interpreting prophetic outlines.

Four propositions presented their views on God's ten-commandment law. The claims of these "moral requirements," they believed, devolve upon all persons "in all dispensations." They did not believe, however, that the "transformation of the affections" was achieved by human effort. Consequently, in four propositions they acknowledged their dependence "on Christ, first, for justification from our past offences, and, secondly for grace whereby to render acceptable obedience to his holy law," effected by faith, repentance, and baptism through the ministry of the Holy Spirit.

The early Seventh-day Adventists linked their concept of salvation to a sanctuary theology. They presented in three propositions their beliefs concerning Christ's high priestly work in the heavenly sanctuary. For them, "the sanctuary of the new covenant is the tabernacle of God in heaven . . . of which our Lord [is] the great High Priest" (Heb 8:1-5). This work, the cleansing of the sanctuary, "is a time of investigative

judgment," and it goes hand in hand with the "proclamation of the third [angel's] message." The sanctuary theology became a cardinal doctrine for Seventh-day Adventists.

Eight propositions summarized their beliefs in a literal second advent, a temporal heavenly millennium, the unconscious state of the dead, the first and second resurrections, the destruction of the "old" earth by the the fires of hell, and the recreation of the new earth "from the ashes of the old." Seventh-day Adventists acknowledged God's justice in His "uniform dealings" with the human race by sending "forth a proclamation of the approach of the second advent of Christ." This proclamation "is symbolized by the three angels' messages of Rev 14, . . ." which are to warn and prepare God's people to "acquire a complete readiness for" the second coming of Christ.

Later doctrinal developments of the Seventh-day Adventists have shown that the 1872 statement did not set out a specific position on salvation through righteous by faith in Jesus Christ. This key doctrine assumed a more developed form in 1888 and subsequent years. Also, the 1872 statement did not establish a Trinitarian concept with respect to the coequality and coeternity of the Godhead. (Up to this time most of the leaders of the denomination had denied the doctrine of the Trinity.)

In concluding this doctrinal summary, we need to



note that among the beliefs held by the Seventh-day Adventists, the seventh-day Sabbath and the second coming of Christ were considered to be two of the most pertinent. The chosen name--"Seventh-day Adventist"--assigned a key position to these two doctrines. Both of them became central issues in the development of the church from 1884 through the 1890s.

#### Organization into a Body

Proposals for the organization of Sabbatarian Adventists into a body--even the choosing of a name--provoked protests from sections of the emerging church. The desire to stand firm to Millerite "come-outerism" adopted by Sabbatarian Adventists (Rev 18:4) caused the opposers to look upon organization with great suspicion. A few individuals even separated themselves from the body. James White gave positive leadership in the call for formal, legal organization, partly because, in general, he saw that it was a necessary step, and partly because, in particular, the legal title for the publishing enterprise of the church at Battle Creek was in his name and he wanted to dispense with the responsibility.<sup>156</sup> Further, during the 1850s some problems

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<sup>156</sup>"Business Proceedings of the Battle Creek Conference," RH 16 (August 21, 1860): 108; "Battle Creek Conference," RH 16 (October 2, 1860): 156; "Business Proceedings of the Battle Creek Conference," RH 16 (October 16, 1860): 169-71. See also Spalding, Origin and History, 1:299-302; Schwarz, Light Bearers, pp. 86-103. For a recent study on the development of organization in

arose in the areas of church discipline, heresy, offshoot publications, and other situations that indicated the need for some sort of central authority.<sup>157</sup> For example, in the matter of ordaining ministers and the issuing of credentials, Joseph Bates and James White administered these functions tentatively.<sup>158</sup>

After more than a decade of debating the issue, the denomination arrived at a consensus. On October 1, 1860, during the special conference held at Battle Creek, the delegates finally voted to adopt the name "Seventh-day Adventist."<sup>159</sup> This conference also sanctioned the legal incorporation of the publishing house, and on June 2, 1861, the title was transferred from James White to the chosen trustees.<sup>160</sup> The organization of a General

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the Seventh-day Adventist Church, see, Andrew Mustard, "James White and Organization in the Seventh-day Adventist Church," Ph.D. dissertation, Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary, Berrien Springs, Michigan, 1987.

<sup>157</sup>Loughborough, Rise and Progress of Seventh-day Adventists, pp. 204-7.

<sup>158</sup>Spalding, Origin and History, 1:294-95.

<sup>159</sup>"Business Proceedings of the Battle Creek Conference," RH 16 (October 23, 1860): 178. For objections against the first suggestion--"Church of God"--see Ellen G. White, Testimonies for the Church, 9 vols. (Mt. View, California: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1948), 1: 224.

<sup>160</sup>"Business Proceedings of the Battle Creek Conference," RH 16 (October 23, 1860): 178. With regard to the transfer of the assets of the publishing enterprise at Battle Creek from James White's name to those of the elected trustees, see "Annual Meeting of Seventh-day

Conference took place in 1863, when the first session convened in the month of May with twenty delegates.<sup>161</sup> Practicality overrode conservatism, and time proved to the opposition group that there was wisdom in organizing.

The Sabbatarian Adventists, with seriousness, commitment, magnanimity, and sacrifice on the part of the early pioneers of the movement in particular, took up the task of establishing their denomination. Four of their endeavors are mentioned here: (1) They expanded the Millerite legacy and explored new dimensions within the apocalyptic tradition that was based particularly on the prophecies of the books of Daniel and the Revelation. (2) They affirmed their theological position by refining and reshaping the doctrines that they held. (3) They realized that it was necessary to formally organize as a body, which included incorporating legally. (4) After they realized that the door of salvation was still open, not closed in 1844 according to the "shut door" doctrine of the Millerites, they launched a missiological thrust that was engineered by the ever-present realization that the second coming of Christ was imminent. This consciousness has been the heart of the eschatological

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Adventist Publishing Association," RH 18 (October 8, 1861): 152.

<sup>161</sup>"Report of the General Conference Session of Seventh-day Adventists," RH 21 (May 26, 1863): 204-5. For an interesting discussion relative to the organization issue and the choice of a name, see, Maxwell, Tell It, pp. 125-46.

awareness and the other-worldly longing of Seventh-day Adventists.

Survey of the Eschatological Views  
of the Denomination from Its  
Inception to 1884

Seventh-day Adventists of the mid to late nineteenth century possessed an eschatological thinking that was peculiarly their own. Central to their doctrinal position were the widely accepted categories--the second coming of Christ, the millennium, the resurrection, the final judgment, and the restoration of the new heaven and the new earth.

While Seventh-day Adventists, along with other Christians, accepted these basic categories, the Adventist experience and biblical interpretation led them to expand these basic doctrines in order to incorporate other beliefs that they considered essential. For example, Sabbatarian Adventists developed a distinctive sanctuary theology with Christ's intercessory work in the pre-advent judgment as a major core. They discovered scriptural links that fused together the three angels' messages of Rev 14 with the Sabbath of the fourth commandment, the mark of the beast of Rev 13, and the judgment. Sometimes they referred to all their eschatological hopes and longings by using the term "the third angel's message." Bryan Ball has summed up the concept:

Seventh-day Adventist eschatology is unique. It owes that uniqueness to its wholeness, its thoroughly

biblical nature. Consequently it emphasizes aspects of biblical eschatology which are not found in Christian eschatology as a whole--the Sanctuary, the mediatorial ministry of Christ, His work of judgment, all as part of the "Christ-event," the total work of the "Eschatological Man."<sup>162</sup>

This survey covers two broad headings: general eschatology, which includes categories that transcend Adventism, and "Seventh-day Adventist" eschatology, which includes those areas that are peculiar to the denomination. This eschatology fired their enthusiasm evangelistically and motivated them to be in earnest to prepare themselves spiritually for the second advent of Christ.

#### General Eschatology

General eschatology refers to those "end-time" doctrines that Seventh-day Adventists share with some other religious bodies. This section briefly treats the main doctrines in this category--the second advent, the resurrection, the millennium, the final judgment, and the restoration of the new heaven and earth.

Sabbatarian Adventists inherited from the Millerite Adventists a conviction that the second coming of Christ was imminent based on the fulfillment of the 2,300 day-year prophecy. As a denomination, however, they did not set a specific time for its occurrence as the Millerites had. The Sabbatarian Adventists did

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<sup>162</sup>Bryan Ball, The Unique Character of Seventh-day Adventist Eschatology (Washington, D.C.: General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists, 1977), p. 12.

something else to emphasize the significance of this doctrine: they reminded themselves of the advent hope by incorporating it into the name they chose as a denomination--Seventh-day Adventist. They did not believe in a mere spiritual presence or in a secret rapture. In 1874 James White stressed the literal, personal, audible, and premillennial advent of Christ.<sup>163</sup> Also, in contrast to the popular "age to come" theory (a kind of postmillennialism), Uriah Smith said in 1880 that there would be no work of salvation, mediation, or mercy after the second coming, which would be followed by the first resurrection and the millennium.<sup>164</sup>

Among the doctrines of the "last things," the resurrection attracts the greatest emotional appeal. The doctrine of the resurrection is a corollary of the doctrine of the sleep of the dead. During the high noon of Millerite Adventism, George Storrs disseminated his belief concerning man's unconsciousness in death. Storrs's conditionalist faith was subsequently accepted by those who later became Sabbatarian Adventists.<sup>165</sup>

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<sup>163</sup>James White, "The Coming of the Lord," RH 44 (July 28, 1874): 49. See also, Idem, "The Second Advent," RH 41 (December 24, 1872): 10. As the reverse to the ascension of Christ recorded in Acts 1:9-11, White in commenting on the return of Jesus stressed the importance of preparation for His coming in "The Second Advent," RH (March 18, 1880): 185-86.

<sup>164</sup>[Uriah Smith], "Age to Come," RH 55 (March 18, 1880): 185-86.

<sup>165</sup>Storrs differed from mainstream Millerism that

Later in the nineteenth-century, Seventh-day Adventists taught a resurrection of the righteous at the second advent and a resurrection of the wicked after the thousand-year heavenly sojourn of the righteous.

The Sabbatarian Adventists, with other premillennialists, placed the thousand-year millennium between the first and second resurrections. They held in contrast to all other premillennialists, however, that the millennium would be spent in heaven, not on earth. During this period, the earth would be desolate and uninhabited as a result of the physical upheavals that would attend the second advent. In addition, they believed that these conditions explain the binding of Satan according to Rev 20:1-3.<sup>166</sup> James White once stated that E. R. Pinney expressed this belief of a heavenly millennium as early as 1844, and that he (White) had taught the same idea since 1845, "five years before Mrs. W[hite] had a view of this subject."<sup>167</sup> James White further stated that Ellen

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preached that the dead went immediately to heaven or hell. As a Methodist minister prior to his acceptance of the Millerite teachings, Storrs had fully believed and taught the dogma that at death humans were sent either to an immediate reward (heaven) or immediate punishment (hell). Storrs rejected that doctrine after reading a tract written by Henry Drew in 1837. At first many Sabbatarian Adventists opposed Storrs's new view. (See, SDAE, 1976 ed., pp. 381-82.)

<sup>166</sup>James White, "The Day of Judgment," RH 1 (September, 1850): 49-51; Ellen White, ["Letter"], PT 1 November, 1850): 86.

<sup>167</sup>Idem, "A Test," RH 7 (October 16, 1855): 61

White saw in vision that those persons who were saved from the earth at Christ's second advent would go to heaven with Him and that at the "end of the 1,000 years, Jesus would return to the earth with the saints."<sup>168</sup>

James White developed another insight concerning the millennium--the idea that "the 1,000 year's reign of the saints in judgment would be in the 'Father's house' above."<sup>169</sup> Ellen White adopted that view on the millennium. In commenting on the subject in her typically detailed style, she said that during the millennium the righteous ones who were resurrected and translated at the second advent would associate with Christ to judge Satan and his angels, as well as all those who rejected God's offer of salvation.<sup>170</sup> Then at the end of the millennium these "saints" will descend with Christ in the Holy City, the New Jerusalem, to inhabit the renewed earth.<sup>171</sup> The renovation of the earth will have been effected by the fires of gehenna (Gk. = "hell," a place of punishment). As early as 1850 the Sabbatarian Adventists clarified their stand on the subject of hell. They rejected

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<sup>168</sup>Ibid.

<sup>169</sup>Ibid.

<sup>170</sup>Ellen G. White, A Sketch of the Christian Experience and Views of Ellen G. White (Battle Creek, Mich.: Review and Herald, 1882), pp. 33-35. See also, J. B. Frisbie, "Age to Come," RH 5 (January 24, 1854): 6. Frisbie argued with scriptural support that the binding of Satan would be as a result of an uninhabited earth.

<sup>171</sup>Ellen G. White, Experience and Views, p. 33.



the idea that "everlasting fire" (Matt 25:41), means everlasting burning. Uriah Smith, in developing the doctrine, interpreted those words to mean everlasting, or total destruction.<sup>172</sup>

In 1857 J. H. Waggoner supplied strong support for J. White's writings on the resurrection and millenium in an article on the resurrection of the wicked.<sup>173</sup> Finally, the "Fundamental Principles" which appeared in 1872 articulated very clearly the doctrinal position of the organization on the two resurrections--the first at the second advent of Christ and the second at His "third coming" after the thousand years in heaven.<sup>174</sup> By the middle of the 1880s, the denominational writers expressed a theology of the resurrection with succinct clarity.<sup>175</sup>

The resurrection of the righteous at the second advent of Christ was seen as a light breaking through the gloom. It stood in sharp contrast to the brokenness of spirit and the indescribable sense of loss and disillusionment that possessed the Millerite Adventists after

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<sup>172</sup>Uriah Smith, "The Second Death," RH 13 (January 20, 1859): 67-68; James White, "The Day of Judgment," RH 1 (September 1850): 50.

<sup>173</sup>J. H. Waggoner, "Will the Wicked Have a Resurrection," RH 9 (February 5, 1857): 108.

<sup>174</sup>"Fundamental Principles," Signs of the Times 1 (June 4, 1874): 3.

<sup>175</sup>See, for example, J. N. Loughborough, "Is the Soul Immortal?" RH 62 (December 11, 1885): 81; Ellen G. White, The Great Controversy (Mountain View, Calif.: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1888), p. 637.

the Great Disappointment of October 22, 1844. Along with the resurrection, the teachings on the millennium and the restoration of a new heaven and earth brought much encouragement to Sabbatarian Adventists.

### Seventh-day Adventist Eschatology

Central to understanding Seventh-day Adventist theology is the Adventist doctrine of the sanctuary. Because of its interrelatedness with other themes, the Adventist view of the sanctuary is discussed conjointly with these themes chronologically.

The Millerites had attached singular importance to Dan 8:14. They held that the cleansing of the sanctuary meant the cleansing of the earth by fire at the second advent, an event they came to associate with October 22, 1844. An offspring of the Millerites, the Sabbatarian Adventists restudied the prophecy of Dan 8 and produced their own sanctuary theology.

#### The Sanctuary and Related Themes in Seventh-day Adventist Eschatology

Some Millerite Adventists received new insight as to the meaning of the "cleansing of the sanctuary" (Dan 8:14). On the morning of October 23, 1844 (the day immediately following their bitter disappointment), Hiram Edson and a company of Adventists who had congregated at his home to await the coming of the Lord held a prayer session.

Edson reported that he had a dramatic experience. He said that he and a friend (probably O. R. L. Crosier) were walking across a large field en route to visit and encourage some brethren. Impressed to halt his steps while his friend walked on, Edson stated that he received at that moment new insight on the sanctuary doctrine. When his companion realized that Edson was so far away, he shouted and asked why he was stopping so long. Edson replied: "The Lord was answering our morning prayer . . . giving light with regard to our disappointment." Instead of Christ leaving the Most Holy Place of the heavenly sanctuary to come to this earth in 1844, Edson said that he "saw distinctly and clearly . . . that He for the first time entered on that day the second apartment of that sanctuary" because He had a ministration to perform in the "Most Holy" before His second advent.<sup>176</sup> Edson's

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<sup>176</sup>[Hiram Edson], "Manuscript," p. 9, AUHR. The date of the manuscript is unknown, but it must have been written before Edson's death in 1882. Two notarized statements dated 1936 and preserved in the Heritage Room of the James White Library at Andrews University attest to the authenticity of the manuscript. Viah Cross, a granddaughter of Edson's, signed one of the documents and affirmed that the handwriting was her grandfather's. The second affidavit, signed by H. M. Kelly, attests that Kelly borrowed the manuscript in 1921 from Edson's daughter, Mrs. O. V. Cross (Viah Cross's mother). Kelly quoted from the manuscript in an article he wrote for the Review and Herald. See, H. M. Kelly, "The Spirit of 1844," RH 98 (June 23, 1921): 4-5. Some confusion exists as to whether Crosier published his sanctuary article first in the Day Dawn as Edson's manuscript (p. 10a) asserts, or in the Day Star. (See SDAE, 1976 ed., p. 1281, for a discussion concerning this discrepancy.)

cornfield insight opened the way for the development of a new sanctuary theology based on Dan 8:14.<sup>177</sup>

O. R. L. Crosier's article in the Day-Star<sup>178</sup> had a significant impact on the thinking of the denomination. Appolos Hale and Joseph Turner (Millerite editors) also articulated basic elements of the sanctuary theology that were of value to later Sabbatarian Adventists. In particular, Turner's article "reaffirmed the concept," observed Maxwell, "that the wedding in Christ's parables is the reception of the kingdom in Dan 7," at the judgment. By 1850 two tasks of Christ in the Most Holy place were clear to the denomination: (1) The cleansing of the sanctuary meant the blotting out of sins; (2) Christ received His kingdom.<sup>179</sup>

Edson's "vision" set in motion a new look at the

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<sup>177</sup>Robert Haddock, "A History of the Doctrine of the Sanctuary in the Advent Movement, 1800-1905," B.D. thesis, Andrews University, 1970, p. 180. Haddock supported the theory that Crosier's article did appear for the first time in the Day Dawn and not in the Day Star, but he believed that the confusion was generated because the 1845 issue is not extant (p. 111).

<sup>178</sup>O. R. L. Crosier, "Letter to Bro. Jacobs," DS (October 11, 1845): 50-51. See, RH 1 (May 5, 1851): 78-80 for a reprint of Crosier's letter to Jacobs. This material was printed several times.

<sup>179</sup>C. Mervyn Maxwell, "The Investigative Judgment: Its Early Development," in The Sanctuary and the Atonement: Biblical, Historical, and Theological Studies, eds., Arnold V. Wallenkampf and W. Richard Leshar (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1981), 551-53. James White, "The Sanctuary, 2,300 Days and the Shut Door," PT 1 (May 1850): 76; Joseph Bates, "The Midnight Cry in the Past," RH 9 (December 1850): 22.

sanctuary doctrine of Dan 8:14. But his emphasis resided almost entirely on the aspect of Christ's work of blotting out of sins. In spite of the importance of the blotting out of sins within the Day of Atonement institution of the Old Testament, another aspect was focal in the Day of Atonement: the aspect of a judgment. Maxwell observed that Edson "barely alluded to the post-1844 judgment."<sup>180</sup> In his article on the early development of the investigative judgment, Maxwell pointed out that

Josiah Litch in 1840 became the first American Adventist to write about a trial judgment preceding the second coming. A number of Millerites soon agreed with him. . . . Soon Sabbatarian Adventists took over as proponents of the view. . . .<sup>181</sup>

The Adventists continued to develop the view of some Millerites concerning a "trial judgment"--the ministry of Christ in pre-advent judgment in the heavenly sanctuary.

For Sabbatarian Adventists, the eschatological aspect of the sanctuary doctrine resided in the idea of a judgment prior to the second coming of Christ. The judgment idea among the Sabbatarians emerged in such a manner that it is difficult to single out a particular person as originator. Joseph Bates appears to have been the first among the Sabbatarian Adventists to promote the idea of a

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<sup>180</sup>Maxwell, Tell It, p. 117.

<sup>181</sup>Idem, "The Investigative Judgment," p. 576. On October 22, 1844 (corresponding to the tenth day of the seventh month), Christ moved from the first to the second apartment of the heavenly sanctuary, received His kingdom, and began His high priestly ministry conjointly with the pre-advent judgment.

post-1844 judgment.<sup>182</sup> In 1854 J. N. Loughborough argued that the atonement symbolized a day of judgment.<sup>183</sup> James White opposed the idea for several years, but he accepted the doctrine in 1857 and was the first to provide the name "investigative judgment." He wrote:

The investigative judgment of the house, or church, of God will take place before the first resurrection; so will the judgment of the wicked take place during the 1000 years of Rev. xx, and they will be raised at the close of that period.<sup>184</sup>

The pioneers of the denomination developed another concept that had a relationship to the sanctuary: the Laodicean ecclesiology. Sabbatarian Adventists in the early 1850s linked themselves spiritually to the church of Philadelphia of Rev 3. As time passed, however, the leaders became aware of a decline in spiritual condition. Laodicean characteristics rather than Philadelphian seemed more apparent. In his call for "gospel order," James White had pointed out that the low "standard of piety" was an impediment to missionary progress.<sup>185</sup> Uriah Smith associated himself with the apprehension of the other leaders. His was an eschatological

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<sup>182</sup>Ibid., p. 576ff. Maxwell has noted that J. White was slow in agreeing with Bates.

<sup>183</sup>J. N. Loughborough, "The Hour of His Judgment is Come," RH 5 (February 14, 1854): 29-30.

<sup>184</sup>J. White, "The Judgment," RH 9 (January 29, 1857): 100; Maxwell, "The Investigative Judgment," pp. 576-77.

<sup>185</sup>J. White "Gospel Order," RH 5 (March 18, 1854): 76.

concern, for he was convinced that "when the people of God are prepared . . . there will be delay no longer."<sup>186</sup> In 1856 James White developed the Laodicean motif. He reasoned that

it has been supposed that the Philadelphia church reached to the end. This we must regard as a mistake, as the seven churches in Asia represent seven distinct periods of the true church, and the Philadelphia is the sixth, and not the last state. The true church cannot be in two conditions at the same time, hence we are shut up to the faith that the Laodicean church represents the church of God at the present time.<sup>187</sup>

An Ellen White's 1857 vision corroborated J. White's hermeneutic. She pictured the body as Laodicea in a state of waning zeal.<sup>188</sup> The important outgrowth of the realization regarding Laodicea was that "this shift in ecclesiological self-understanding, from a triumphalistic to an anti-triumphalistic attitude," as Damsteegt observed, "was immediately accepted and provided a strong incentive to awaken believers" to their commitments.<sup>189</sup> Haddock's thought was that the Laodicean message had more to do with the sanctuary than many realized. "With the acceptance of the message," he claimed, "came a new emphasis

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<sup>186</sup>Uriah Smith, "Prepare Ye the Way of the Lord," 5 (May 30, 1854): 148.

<sup>187</sup>James White, "The Seven Churches," RH 8 (October 9, 1856): 184.

<sup>188</sup>Ellen G. White, Testimonies, 1:141-46.

<sup>189</sup>Damsteegt, Foundations, p. 245; see n. 593.

on the sanctuary and Christ's work therein."<sup>190</sup>

A chain of eschatological concepts soon developed: Seventh-day Adventist writers and leaders of the nineteenth century viewed the Laodicean message as the beginning of the "loud cry," or latter rain;<sup>191</sup> they saw it as the "loud cry" of the third angel;<sup>192</sup> they also looked upon it as a call to the judgment of the living;<sup>193</sup> they believed that by it "the church will be perfected",<sup>194</sup> and they believed that the Laodicean message would perfect individuals for translation after being sealed by God through obedience to the Sabbath and through the agency of the Holy Spirit.<sup>195</sup>

Between the years 1853 and 1864 outstanding writings on the sanctuary theology came from three pioneers of the church. J. N. Andrews published the first of these.<sup>196</sup> He strongly emphasized the forgiveness

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<sup>190</sup>Haddock, "History of Sanctuary Doctrine," pp. 199-200.

<sup>191</sup>For an example of this see, S. N. Haskell, "A Few Thoughts on the Philadelphia and Laodicea Churches," RH 9 (November 6, 1856): 6.

<sup>192</sup>E. Everts, "'Be Zealous and Repent,'" RH 9 (January 8, 1857): 75.

<sup>193</sup>Ibid. See also, James W[hite], "The Judgment," RH 9 (January 29, 1857): 100-101.

<sup>194</sup>Albert Stone, "Letter," RH 9 (January 29, 1857): 101.

<sup>195</sup>[Uriah Smith], "The Seal of the Living God," RH 8 (May 1, 1856): 20.

<sup>196</sup>J. N. Andrews, The Sanctuary and Twenty-Three



of sins aspect in the High Priestly ministry of Christ, who "stands by the MERCY-SEAT" offering "his blood, not merely for the cleansing of the sanctuary, but also for the pardon of iniquity and transgression."<sup>197</sup> Andrews's soteriology would become the key for the Sabbatarian Adventist "open door" theology that stood in contrast to Millerite and even early Sabbatarian Adventist "shut door" theology. James White declared that Andrews's was "the best work that has been published on present truth."<sup>198</sup> Andrews's work uplifted God's mercy, placed within the context of probationary time and a pre-Advent judgment--salient features of Seventh-day Adventist eschatology.

Next, Ellen White published her four volumes of Spiritual Gifts from 1858 through 1864.<sup>199</sup> As Damsteegt pointed out, "it was not until 1858 that E. G. White made any statement in reference to an atonement in connection with Christ's ministry after 1844."<sup>200</sup> She clearly fused eschatological links with her sanctuary concepts, indicating the extreme importance of Jesus' going into

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Hundred Days (Rochester, New York: James White, 1853).

<sup>197</sup>Ibid., p. 71.

<sup>198</sup>[J. White], "Bro. Andrews' Work on the Sanctuary," RH 3 (March 31, 1853): 184.

<sup>199</sup>Ellen G. White, Spiritual Gifts, 4 vols. (Battle Creek: James White, 1858-64).

<sup>200</sup>Damsteegt, Foundations, p. 173.

the Most Holy place of the heavenly Sanctuary to cleanse it; to make a special atonement for Israel, and to receive the kingdom of his Father, and then return to earth and take them to dwell with him forever.<sup>201</sup>

Damsteegt concluded that Ellen White, in referring to "a special atonement," apparently meant "an atonement specifically related to the pre-Advent judgment."<sup>202</sup> This concept could be viewed as sanctuary eschatology.

The third author, Uriah Smith, published his two sanctuary series in the Review and Herald in the year 1858.<sup>203</sup> In two articles--the "Marriage of the Lamb" and the "Ten Virgins" (both of the second series entitled a "Synopsis of the Present Truth") Smith explained that the coming of the bridegroom in the parable represented the transfer of Christ's ministry from the holy to the most holy place of the sanctuary in heaven. He also endorsed the view of Edson and Crosier that Christ appeared to receive a kingdom of power and great glory

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<sup>201</sup>Ellen G. White, Spiritual Gifts, 1:149.

<sup>202</sup>Damsteegt, Foundations, p. 173.

<sup>203</sup>Smith presented two series: (1) "History of the Earthly Sanctuary," and, (2) "Synopsis of the Present Truth." For a fine study of Smith's sanctuary teachings, see Russell Holt, "A Comparative Study of the Sanctuary and Its Implications for Atonement in S.D.A. Theology from U. Smith to the Present," B.D. thesis, Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary, 1969. See also Roy Adams, "The Doctrine of the Sanctuary in the Seventh-day Adventist Church: Three Approaches," Th.D. dissertation, Andrews University, 1980. Adams discussed the views of Uriah Smith, Albion Ballenger, and M. L. Andreasen, noting similarities and differences.

when He entered into the most holy place.<sup>204</sup>

Seventh-day Adventists continued to strengthen their sanctuary doctrine. Some penetrating articles appeared in the Review and Herald in 1863 from James White and J. H. Waggoner.<sup>205</sup> In 1864 D. T. Bourdeau, in reflecting on the sanctuary doctrine, said that the church must be "wholly sanctified" if it was "to pass through the time of trouble without a mediator." He further stated that "it will require a special preparation to meet the Lord when he comes." Actually, Bourdeau was reiterating concepts mentioned in the 1840s by Ellen White and Joseph Bates.<sup>206</sup>

In looking back at the development of the sanctuary and judgment themes during the period under study, Maxwell drew attention to three of the parables of Jesus in which the judgment concept is central: the great catch of fish followed by the separation of the bad from the good (Matt 13:47-50), the wedding feast of the king where

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<sup>204</sup>Uriah Smith, "Marriage of the Lamb," RH 11 (April 8, 1858): 164, and the second part in RH 11 (April 15, 1858): 172; idem, "Ten Virgins," RH 11 (April 29, 1858): 188-89. Smith published also a pamphlet entitled, The 2,300 Days and the Sanctuary (Rochester, New York: Advent Review Office, 1854).

<sup>205</sup>James White captioned his series "The Sanctuary." It ran from July 14 through September 8, 1863. J. H. W[aggoner's] series was entitled "The Atonement." These articles appeared from September 8 through December 1, 1863.

<sup>206</sup>D. T. Bourdeau, "Sanctification; Or Living Holiness," RH 24 (August 2, 1864): 25-27, 73.

a free wedding robe was offered (Matt 22:14), and the employer who granted mercy to his employee who owed him 10,000 talents (Matt 18:23-35). Maxwell noted the relevance of these passages regarding sanctuary eschatology:

When in 1844 Jesus went on the clouds of heaven (Daniel 7) to begin this pre-second-coming judgment, He commenced an investigation into the records of the saints to see if those who had accepted his invitation to salvation had also put on the robe of His righteousness; to see if those who had been forgiven 10,000-talent sins at their conversion had hereafter forgiven other people who owed them a hundred pence.

So important a doctrine as this has continually engaged the thoughts of Seventh-day Adventists through the years since its discovery.<sup>207</sup>

During the 1860s the denomination also embraced the health-reform message and related it to their eschatology. The Adventist pioneers connected health reform, the "loud cry of the third angel," the latter rain, and the sanctuary doctrine. J. H. Waggoner made the classic statement on health reform when he said:

We do not profess to be pioneers in the general principles of health reform. . . . But we do claim that by the method of God's choice it has been more clearly and powerfully unfolded. . . . As mere physiological and hygienic truths, they might be studied by some at their leisure, . . . but when placed on a level with the great truths of the third angel's message by the sanction and authority of God's Spirit, and so declared to be the means whereby a weak people may be made strong to overcome, and our diseased bodies cleansed and fitted for translation, then it comes to us as an essential part of the present truth, to be received with the blessing of God, or rejected at our own peril.<sup>208</sup>

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<sup>207</sup>Maxwell, Tell It, p. 118.

<sup>208</sup>J. H. Waggoner, "Present Truth," RH (August 7, 1866): 76-77. See also, A. C. Bourdeau, "Our Present

Another aspect of the sanctuary theology that needs to be mentioned is the idea of the "blotting out of sins" not only from the sanctuary but also the elimination of sin from the lives of the "saints" awaiting the advent. Back in 1846, O. R. L. Crosier clearly pointed out this dual cleansing. "Many seem not to have discovered that there is a spiritual and literal temple," said Crosier. When Christ entered the literal sanctuary in heaven to cleanse it, "the Spirit commenced the special cleansing of the people," he further stated.<sup>209</sup> Following Crosier, later Adventist writers upheld this important concept.

By the end of the 1860s Seventh-day Adventists saw more and more the salvific function of Christ's work in the heavenly sanctuary. The expanding idea was embryonic of the doctrine of the righteousness by faith in Christ through both justification and sanctification. The words, "the elimination of sin in the lives of saints awaiting the advent," cast the spiritual piety of nineteenth-century Seventh-day Adventists into an eschatological mold. Uriah Smith noted that "the blotting out of sins is the last act to be performed in the sanctuary, and denotes the close of probation."<sup>210</sup> Smith clearly

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Position," RH 29 (May 28, 1867): 277-79; Ellen G. White, Early Writings, p. 71.

<sup>209</sup>O.R. L. Crosier, "Letter from Bro. Crosier," DS 10 (April 18, 1846): 31.

<sup>210</sup>[Uriah Smith], "The Refreshing," RH 30

expressed his understanding of the connection between the sanctuary doctrine and Seventh-day Adventist eschatology.

From 1871 through 1883, most writings on the sanctuary merely reiterated viewpoints of the standard position. Among the articles that appeared, an editorial from Uriah Smith deserves mention. Smith outlined ten functions of the sanctuary doctrine. Note is taken here of five of those points that clearly manifest eschatological undergirdings and amplify the meaning of the sanctuary for Seventh-day Adventist eschatology:

(1) It makes provision for a preliminary work of Judgment, which must take place before Christ appears. . . .

(3) It provides a time and place for a blotting out of sins before Christ comes, as in Acts 3:19,20 or the blotting out of names from the book of life, as in Rev. 3:5. . . .

(4) It guards against the error of continually setting times for the Lord to come. . . .

(7) It establishes the doctrine of the soon coming of Christ; for Christ comes as soon as he has finished his work as priest, and he is now performing the closing service of that priestly work. His coming must therefore be at hand. . . .

(8) It establishes the doctrine of the unconscious state of the dead, by showing that no part of the judgment, which must precede the bestowal of rewards and punishment could be performed till Christ reached the closing division of his work as mediator.<sup>211</sup>

The Christian church prior to 1844 had not taught the doctrine of the sanctuary as viewed by Seventh-day

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November 19, 1867): 352.

<sup>211</sup>Idem, "The Great Central Subject," RH 58 (November 22, 1881): 328.

Adventists. Consequently, the Seventh-day Adventist doctrine of the sanctuary was seen by the denomination as a distinctive, separative, and structural truth that was intimately related to the denomination's eschatology.

The Sabbath and the Third  
Angel's Message in Seventh-  
day Adventist Eschatology

In 1846 Joseph Bates produced a work in which he linked the Sabbath with the advent experience, arguing that the restoration of the Sabbath was an imperative before the second advent. "I understand," he said, "that the seventh-day Sabbath is not the least one, among the All things that are to be restored before the second advent of Jesus Christ."<sup>212</sup>

Bates's understanding of what we may call the Sabbath theme within an eschatological framework, encouraged him to develop his restoration thought further. In 1847 he said that in spite of Satan's attack against the seventh-day Sabbath, it would be restored before Jesus comes. Bates invoked the confidence of the prophet Isaiah and stated that every true believer would "build the old waste places . . . and . . . shalt be called the

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<sup>212</sup>Joseph Bates, The Seventh Day Sabbath, a Perpetual Sign from the Beginning, to the Entering into the Gates of the Holy City, According to the Commandment (New Bedford, [Mass.: Joseph Bates], 1846), p. 2. It was through the influence of Rachael Oakes Preston that the Sabbath message reached the Sabbatarian Adventists in the winter of 1843-44. Bates was the first among the founders of the Seventh-day Adventist denomination to accept the fourth commandment Sabbath.

repairer of the breach, the restorer of the paths to dwell in" (Isa 5:19). He then warned:

That there will yet be a mighty struggle about the restoring and keeping the seventh day Sabbath that will test every soul that enters the gates of the city, cannot be disputed. It is evident the Devil is making war on all such. See Rev. 12:17.<sup>213</sup>

James and Ellen White supported Bates on the restoration theme, but extended the idea by placing the Sabbath within the context of a new eschatological setting--"the work of repairing the breach in the commandments of God . . . preparatory to the day of destruction." For the Whites, the Sabbath was central as a preparatory work of obedience, for the fitting of the individual for "the day of the Lord."<sup>214</sup>

It seemed natural for the pioneers of the denomination to move from the restoration theme regarding the Sabbath to the message of the third angel of Rev 14 with respect to the end-time events and the "last things."

The special message affirming the validity of the Seventh Month movement and proclaiming the restoration of the Sabbath as a test, in the context of the

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<sup>213</sup>Idem, The Seventh Day Sabbath, a Perpetual Sign from the Beginning, to the Entering into the Gates of the Holy City, According to the Commandment (New Bedford, [Mass.: Joseph Bates], rev. and enl. ed., 1847), p. 60.

<sup>214</sup>[James White], "Repairing the Breach in the Law of God," PT 1 (September 1849):25; E. G. White, Early Writings of Mrs. White: Experience and Views, and Spiritual Gifts, vol 1, 2d ed. (Battle Creek, Mich.: Review and Herald, 1882; reprint ed., Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald, 1945), p. 65.



imminent Second Advent and God's wrath, was the message of the third angel of Revelation 14.<sup>215</sup>

Bates initiated the view that the Sabbath was the heart of the third angel's message of Rev 14:9-12. At first, he assumed that the "passing of the time" in October 1844 terminated the third angel's proclamation.<sup>216</sup> James White agreed with Bates on the centrality of the Sabbath to the third angel's message, but he believed that the third angel did not end its work in 1844, but commenced it then. That message, White said, began the patient waiting period, or the "patience of the saints" (Rev 14:12), which he expected to take place prior to the return of Christ. He stated further that "the third angel's message was, and still is, a WARNING to the saints. . . ." White said it was evident that the church still lived in the time of third angel's message.<sup>217</sup> Bates eventually accepted White's interpretation.<sup>218</sup>

It must be understood that during the late 1840s

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<sup>215</sup>Damsteegt, Foundations, p. 140. Froom added that the interpretation of the three angels' messages dawned gradually upon the founders of the church (Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers, 4:1036).

<sup>216</sup>Bates, The Seventh Day Sabbath (1847 ed.), p. 24.

<sup>217</sup>James White, with Joseph Bates and Ellen White, A Word to the Little Flock (Gorham, Maine: James White, 1847), p. 11.

<sup>218</sup>Joseph Bates, Second Advent Waymarks and High Heaps, or a Connected View of the Fulfillment of Prophecy by God's Peculiar People, from the Year 1840 to 1847 (New Bedford [Mass.: Joseph Bates], 1847), pp. 20-27.

there was not as yet unity of thought among the Sabbatarian Adventist leaders concerning the third angel's message. They did not fully understand all the ramifications of the subject. Maxwell has suggested that, as a result of the understanding that came with the passing of time, when Ellen White, for example, spoke and wrote in later years about the church's relationship to the third angel's message during the late 1840s, such references may be considered as being somewhat anachronistic.<sup>219</sup> To illustrate, he pointed out that Ellen White did not readily grasp the full understanding of her cognate visions of March 3 and April 6, 1847, concerning the ten commandments, the "halo of glory around it [the fourth commandment]", and the "angel flying toward me [Ellen White]".<sup>220</sup> Maxwell concluded with the following statement:

Several years later, when she understood the vision better, she added that on this occasion she had been shown that "the third angel proclaiming the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus represents the people who receive this message, and raise the voice of warning to the world to keep the commandments of God and His law as the apple of the eye; and that in response to this warning, many would embrace the Sabbath of the Lord."<sup>221</sup>

By 1847 the budding denomination had already

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<sup>219</sup>Interview with C. Mervyn Maxwell, Andrews University, Berrien Springs, Michigan, August 25, 1986.

<sup>220</sup>Ellen G. White, Spiritual Gifts, 2:82, 83. See also, idem, Early Writings, pp. 85, 86.

<sup>221</sup>Maxwell, Tell It, p. 90.

driven down the most significant and lasting stakes concerning Sabbatarian Adventist theology. In November 1848 the doctrine of the Sabbath was expanded to show the Sabbath as the "seal of the living God."<sup>222</sup> These developments led the early pioneers of Sabbatarian Adventism to make a radical distinction between their view of the Sabbath and that of other nineteenth-century Sabbath-keepers. The Seventh Day Baptists and Sabbatarian Anabaptists had offered three reasons for Sabbath-keeping: the morality of it, its endorsement by Jesus and the apostles, and the fulfillment of prophecy regarding its change by the papacy.<sup>223</sup> But Sabbatarian Adventists went far beyond their contemporaries in discovering the distinctiveness of the Sabbath truth:

The difference involves insights into such Bible terms as the "seal of God," "the three angels' messages," "the mark of the beast," "the sanctuary," and "the judgment." Seventh-day Adventists accept essentially all that Seventh Day Baptists taught, but from Bible study they have added highly practical concepts relating to last-day prophecy.<sup>224</sup>

Froom has said that Seventh-day Adventists have "invested [the Sabbath] with a significance and an

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<sup>222</sup>James White to [J. C.] Bowles, November 8, 1849; E. G. White, Early Writings, pp. 42-43, 69 (she was the first to use the term "present, sealing truth"); James White, "Third Angel's Message," RH 2 (March 2, 1852): 15, 69; Uriah Smith, "The Seal of the Living God," RH 8 (May 1, 1856): 20; Damsteegt, Foundations, 209-12. In a detailed piece of research, Damsteegt has traced the development of the doctrine.

<sup>223</sup>Maxwell, Tell It, p. 91.

<sup>224</sup>Ibid.

importance that [it] had never had under the Seventh Day Baptists. . . . Only in the Sanctuary setting did it [the Sabbath] begin to grip hearts."<sup>225</sup>

As already stated, Sabbatarian Adventists made a permanent connection between the Sabbath and the second advent through their name--Seventh-day Adventists. But more importantly, it could be seen that they placed the Sabbath in the midst of a constellation of themes that became peculiar and unique to Seventh-day Adventist eschatology. Sabbath-keeping, therefore, continually created an eschatological awareness. It appears reasonable to state that Sabbatarian ecclesiology developed synchronously with Sabbatarian eschatology.

The Mark of the Beast and the  
Image of the Beast in Seventh-  
day Adventist Eschatology

Rev 13 presents two beasts--the first, the leopard-bodied, sea beast in vss 1-10, and the second, the lamb-horned, earth beast in vss 11-18. Sabbatarian Adventists adopted fully the widely accepted position that the first beast represented the papacy.<sup>226</sup> James White, in 1850, called it "the Papal beast," meaning the ecclesiastical power which attempted to change God's laws

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<sup>225</sup>Froom, Prophetic Faith, 4:960.

<sup>226</sup>"Mark of the Beast," SDAE, 1976 ed., pp. 856-57. As early as 1655, John Cotton applied Rev 13:1-10 to the Papacy. See, Froom, Prophetic Faith, 3:36-42.

including the fourth commandment Sabbath.<sup>227</sup> Sabbatarian Adventists associated the observance of Sunday, "the counterfeit Sabbath," with the mark of the beast. As early as 1847 Joseph Bates labeled Sunday observance as a mark of the beast.<sup>228</sup> James and Ellen White expressed the same idea by interpreting the act of rejecting God's "God's Sabbath" for the "Pope's" as an indication of an individual's consent to receive the mark of the beast.<sup>229</sup>

In his commentary on the book of Revelation, Uriah Smith wrote the following:

To receive the mark of the beast in the forehead, is, we understand, to give the assent of the mind and judgment to his [the first beast's] authority, in the adoption of that institution which constitutes the mark; to receive it in the hand is to signify allegiance by some outward act. The mark is the mark, not of the two-horned beast, nor of the image of the beast, but of the papal beast. . . . The mark of the beast is understood to be a counterfeit Sabbath which is erected in opposition to the Sabbath of Jehovah, which we have shown . . . to be the seal of the living God.<sup>230</sup>

Some of the writers of the denomination carefully

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<sup>227</sup>James White, "The Third Angel's Message," PT 1 (April 1850): 65.

<sup>228</sup>Joseph Bates, The Seventh Day Sabbath (1847 ed.), p. 59.

<sup>229</sup>Ellen G. White, with Joseph Bates and James White, A Word to the Little Flock, p. 19; James White, "The Third Angel's Message," PT 1 (April 1850): 68. This article appears interchangeably under the Whites' names.

<sup>230</sup>Uriah Smith, Thoughts, Critical and Practical on the Book of Revelation (Battle Creek, Mich.: Steam Press of Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1875), p. 185.

emphasized, however, that they did not claim that their contemporaries who kept Sunday as the Sabbath had the mark of the beast. In 1857 and again in 1874 James White explained that people would receive the mark of the beast only after they had deliberately chosen to obey man's Sunday law enforced by a church-state government, instead of God's fourth-commandment Sabbath.<sup>231</sup>

As early as 1851 the Sabbatarian Adventists had begun to define the image of the beast of Rev 13:14 as the union of an ecclesiastical with a civil power. J. N. Andrews was the first to publish an article on this important subject. He identified the second beast of Rev 13:11-18 as the United States of America, and pointed out that the two horns of that beast represented the civil and the ecclesiastical powers of the nation.<sup>232</sup> James White, Joseph Bates, and others concurred with Andrews's interpretation. White stated that "as the two-horned beast causes the image to be made, and gives it life, we conclude that it can be no other but a union of church and state."<sup>233</sup> In 1854 Merritt Cornell, an enthusiastic Sabbatarian Adventist evangelist, pointed out that

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<sup>231</sup>James White, "Remarks in Kindness," RH 2 (March 2, 1852): 100; idem, "The Blindness or Error," RH 64 (July 28, 1874): 52. Bates was not as careful at first in showing how one could get the mark of the beast.

<sup>232</sup>John N. Andrews, "Thoughts on Revelation XIII and XIV," RH 1 (May 19, 1851): 81.

<sup>233</sup>James White, "The Angels of Revelation 14," RH

the image was the likeness of a union or marriage between Protestantism and the state, and that this was to take place at a later time.<sup>234</sup> The place of the "mark of the beast" and the "image of the beast" in Seventh-day Adventist eschatology resides in the context of either obedience or disobedience to the message of the third angel of Rev 14 with respect to God's law and the law of the church-state union of Rev 13. The enactments of this ecclesiastical-civil power, represented by the "beast," will have significant meaning for Adventist eschatology and is central to the discussion that follows.

#### Summary

The historical-theological survey in this chapter highlights the importance of the millennial hopes of nineteenth-century America, presents the birth and demise of the Millerite movement that provided rootage for the Seventh-day Adventist Church, and traces the development of the eschatological views of this denomination from the mid 1840s up to 1884. This groundwork forms a base for the major section of the study on the development of Seventh-day Adventist eschatology from 1884 through 1895.

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2 (August 19, 1851): 70; Bates, "The Beast With Seven Heads," RH 2 (August 5, 1851): 4. For the contributions of S. N. Haskell, J. N. Loughborough, Uriah Smith, and J. H. Waggoner to this subject, see Froom, Prophetic Faith, 4:1104-1108, 1126.

<sup>234</sup>Merritt E. Cornell, "They Will Make an Image to the Beast," RH 31 (May 12, 1868): 340.

## CHAPTER II

### CONTEXTUAL OVERVIEW AND BACKGROUND OF THE THREE SELECTED FACTORS

This chapter covers two areas. The first part treats some contextual features in relation to the years 1865 through 1895. Within that post-Civil War environment, severe social complexities originated from industrialization, urbanization, and immigration. These features challenged Adventist thinking, particularly in the area of trade unionism. As stated in the preface, this study presents three selected factors--Sunday legislation, righteousness by faith, and organized labor. The second part of the chapter traces the relevant developments regarding these factors up to 1884. The purpose of this background and overview is to note the growth of the denomination theologically and eschatologically in relation to the context in which that growth unfolded.

#### Social Forces in America 1865-1895

Several forces were important in post-Civil War America, including industrialization, urbanization, immigration, higher criticism of the Bible, and Darwinism.



People influence their environment and, conversely, environment influences people. Two responses to the changing context were the rise of the Holiness Movement and the emergence of the Social Gospel. What became known as Fundamentalism maintained a line of rigid orthodoxy and began to separate itself from the modernism of the new liberal theology of this period.<sup>1</sup>

The post-bellum "Gilded Age" (1865-1900) witnessed the emergence of a practically new society. The United States entered a turbulent period of transition from a rural, agrarian community to a modern, industrial world power.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>Material for this section has been drawn from the following sources: Robert T. Handy, A Christian America: Protestant Hopes and Historical Realities, 2d ed. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), pp. 57-100; Winthrop Still Hudson, Religion in America, 3d ed. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1981), pp. 209-319; Josiah Strong, Our Country: Its Possible Future and Its Present Crisis (New York: Baker and Taylor Company, 1891), pp. 44-194; Henry F. May, Protestant Churches and Industrial America (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1949), pp. 112ff; Kathrine Coman, The Industrial History of the United States, new and rev. ed. (New York: Macmillan Company, 1912), pp. 184-85, 208-33; Adna Ferrin Weber, The Growth of Cities in the Nineteenth Century: A Study in Statistics (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, [1899] 1963), pp. 20-24; Melvin Easterday Dieter, The Holiness Revival of the Nineteenth Century (Metuchen, N.J.: Scarecrow Press, 1980), pp. 8-19, 96-137.

<sup>2</sup>In addition to the "Gilded Age," some historians have called the post-Civil War years "the tragic era," "fifty years of progress," "years of unrest and corruption," and also a quite obvious label, "the age of big business." It was the era of empire builders--the steel kings, the coal barons, the railroad magnates, the merchant princes, the wizards of finance, the oil potentates, and the rulers of the stock yard. The entrepreneur class had come to stay.

Industrialization, undergirded by a rapid technological advance that produced a flood of new inventions, changed the face of American life. Mammoth corporations tied the country together with a network of railroads and telephone lines. New developments in the use of petroleum gave further impetus to industrial development. By 1894 the United States was regarded by many as the leading industrial nation of the world.

But industrialization evoked some social concerns. Not only men and women but children flooded the industrial plants, working at times fourteen hours daily. This practice had a debilitating effect on family life. Religiously, industrial expansion brought mixed blessings. More money circulated and the spin-off encouraged missions and funded many worthy projects. Conversely, unbridled competition and an insatiable appetite for material goods stimulated greed and aroused the envy of the poor. Exhausted workers lost interest in the church.

Urban growth was closely related to industrial growth. The first United States census of 1790 found only 3.35 percent of the population living in towns of eight thousand or more. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, however, almost 30 percent of the nation's population was classified as urban (actually 29.2 percent as produced by the 1890 census). Although this demographic shift to the cities had begun before the Civil War, the

process was vastly accelerated after it. In addition to the pull from industry and commerce, large scale immigration fed urban growth.

This new wave toward the cities spawned slums, vice, crime, poverty, and political corruption that cried out to the churches to do something. One significant response was the Institutional Church providing social clubs, sewing classes, reading rooms, gymnasiums, night schools for working people, and other activities to support the traditional ministry of the urban churches that were threatened with decline.

Meanwhile, the laborers, in an effort to mitigate their harsh circumstances, formed trade unions. Labor organizations had existed before the Civil War; now they rapidly gained momentum.

Of all the factors that created religious tensions in nineteenth-century America, the influx of immigrants stands out with prominence. Acute unemployment in Europe drove many destitute families of English, Irish, and German stock to seek a new life in America. From southern and eastern Europe came waves of Italians, Poles, Czechs, Slovaks, Hungarians, Greeks, Russians, and Romanians to work in the mines and factories. Between 1776 and 1860 over four million immigrants had come to America. Between 1865 and 1900 thirteen and a half million more arrived.

Countless frictions developed. Nativist concerns

reached a peak in the 1880s and 1890s. Being destitute, the immigrants worked for lower wages and, therefore, tended to supplant American employees. Strange cultural patterns annoyed native Americans. Immigrants contributed to acute overcrowding. They were perceived as inebriates, a drunken scourge. The permissive Sabbath-keeping of the Roman Catholic immigrants, with their "Continental Sunday," was particularly vexing. Their laxity in Sabbath (i.e., Sunday) observance was a threat to what Josiah Strong in Our Country called, with zealous, patriotic jingoism, "the purest Christianity." Strong was thinking of American Protestantism. He was of the opinion that the Roman Catholic immigrant threatened American civilization in two aspects: temperance and Sabbath keeping. Perhaps the greatest apprehension was that Roman Catholics might undermine American democracy. On top of all this, immigrants from southern and eastern Europe were often considered socialists and anarchists.

The post-Civil War years produced intellectual changes that constituted a threat to accepted understandings of the Christian faith. Higher criticism threatened the teaching of biblical inspiration. For many intellectuals, the Bible was just a compilation of poetry, history, folklore, and so on, gathered over a period of time. Both Darwinian biology and higher criticism provoked questions on the Genesis account of creation, the doctrine of biblical inspiration, and the prophetic

character of the biblical books. In the case of Isaiah, for example, higher criticism gave the book primary, secondary, and tertiary authors, even claiming that some of its contents were "predicted" after they happened.

The pattern of response was similar among Protestants, Roman Catholics, and Jews. Some rejected any modification of the inherited theological formulations. Others accepted them, and a third group took a middle position, accommodating the best of both sides.<sup>3</sup>

Heated debates led to a split in Protestant ranks. The central issue was biblical authority. Conservatives stood staunchly by the assumed inerrancy of the biblical autographs. They branded as liberals all Protestants who sought to accommodate biological evolution and higher criticism. But the "liberals" claimed that they had a "conservative" intent. All they wanted to achieve was to make the Christian faith respectable within its contemporary setting, able to withstand the assaults against it. They insisted that they did not pursue liberal theology for its own sake.

Some conservative Protestants responded to the post-Civil War intellectualism with a strengthening of perfectionism through the American Holiness Movement. This movement had its roots in the life and teachings of

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<sup>3</sup>Roman Catholics viewed biblical inspiration differently from Protestants because of their belief in "tradition" and papal infallibility.

John Wesley, Phoebe Palmer, and Charles Finney. The American post-war society, cast in a new materialism and humanism, provided a fertile soil for the holiness revival, which was largely composed of Methodist groups. The National Camp Meeting Association for the Promotion of Holiness held its first series of meetings in Pennsylvania, July 17-26, 1867. Their 1868 convocation, also held in Pennsylvania, attracted three hundred clergy and 25,000 lay members. Six hundred tents dotted the campground. Methodists, Presbyterians, Baptists, Dutch Reformed, Congregationalists, and Quakers attended. Aside from the Moody-Sankey revivals of a decade later, the 1868 convocation was perhaps the largest campmeeting held in the nineteenth century. Several additional conventions were held between 1868 and 1901. Regrettably, power struggles among the the leadership, separatism, and other problems plagued the movement and frustrated their vision for the unifying of evangelical Christianity.

Another late nineteenth-century reform movement was the Social Gospel. Nineteenth-century Protestants generally showed indifference toward the industrial worker. To remedy the situation, socially minded clergymen, particularly from the liberal Protestant group, organized forums and study groups to discuss industrial problems. The Social Gospellers called for a radical reconstruction of society. Their views, often associated with doctrinaire socialism, were related to the concept

of the Kingdom of God. They expected this kingdom to supplant the diseased social structure which was seen as the kingdom of evil.<sup>4</sup>

Reform movements were plentiful in post-bellum as they had been in ante-bellum America. In addition to the National Camp Meeting Association for the Promotion of Holiness and the Social Gospel Movement mentioned above, others, like the Women's Christian Temperance Union, labored to achieve spiritual, social, physical, economic, and even political benefits for the people. Added to such objectives, the holiness evangelists hoped that their movement would give leadership in the Christianization of America. The National Reform Association (NRA) cherished the same dream. During the last third of the nineteenth century, the NRA made determined attempts to have Congress pass legislation for the legalizing of Sunday worship and the maintaining of Protestantism in public schools. Josiah Strong stirred the spirit of Protestant America with a list of "eight perils" in Our Country. Immigration headed his list, followed by Romanism, religion and the public schools, Mormonism, intemperance, socialism, wealth or mammonism, and urban perils. The Protestant dream of America as a Christian Nation was in danger of being snuffed out; her "manifest destiny" to reform the world was in jeopardy.

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<sup>4</sup>See pp. 22-23 above for a synopsis on the Social Gospel.

In conclusion, while Seventh-day Adventists understood something of the literal significance of the social and intellectual forces that were evident in post-Civil War America, as well as the response of Protestantism to those forces, they went further in their understanding. They viewed the happenings as harbingers of the end of the world. Contemporary Adventist writers interpreted the happenings in eschatological terms. For example, the leaders of the NRA were convinced that their struggle for Sunday sanctity was simply an effort to preserve the Puritan ethic. Nineteenth-century Seventh-day Adventists, however, applied their prophetic interpretation of Rev 13 to the developments, and branded the work of the NRA as the setting of the stage for the instituting of the mark and image of the beast and the end of history. Jonathan Butler, in commenting on the mood of late nineteenth-century Adventists, declared that "Ellen White interpreted . . . changing times in nothing less than eschatological terms. The immense developments . . . signaled that the world was about to end."<sup>5</sup>

Background of the Three Selected  
Factors up to 1884

The years 1884 through 1895 embody the significant period of this study with respect to the impact of the three selected factors on the development of Seventh-

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<sup>5</sup>Butler, "The World of E. G. White," pp. 2, 3.



day Adventist eschatology. These factors are Sunday legislation and related issues, righteousness by faith in Seventh-day Adventism, and organized labor. The purpose of the present section is to treat pertinent background aspects of these three factors up to 1884.

#### The First Amendment and Sunday Legislation

The architects of the Constitution of the United States carefully and thoughtfully enshrined within it the principle of the separation of church and state. There was full recognition of the fact that the interests of religion and the affairs of the national state were best served when they were least entangled.<sup>6</sup> The first ten amendments to the Constitution emerged later as the Bill of Rights. This document spelled out "popular rights that the government must never invade."<sup>7</sup> The first of these amendments is of interest to this study. It reads:

Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the government for a redress of grievances.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>6</sup>Charles M. Snow, Religious Liberty in America (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1914), p. 10.

<sup>7</sup>Blum et al., National Experience, p. 135.

<sup>8</sup>Willis Mason West, ed., A Source Book in American History to 1877 (Boston: Alwyn and Bacon, 1913), p. 569.

Sunday laws or "blue laws" existed in the United States long before the framing of the Federal Constitution and the First Amendment. For the Puritans, Sunday laws were based on the fourth commandment which required the householder to enforce rest. Many Puritans had come to America to keep the Sabbath (i.e., Sunday). Considering that the Puritans fled to America to escape religious persecution, it is ironical that some of them exhibited religious intolerance. To them, persecution was not wrong in itself; it was wicked for falsehood to persecute truth, but it was the sacred duty of truth to persecute falsehood.<sup>9</sup> Consequently, throughout the early period, the government of the colonies enacted stringent Sunday laws.

#### The States and Sunday Legislation

At the expiration of the colonial era, when the original thirteen states framed their own constitutions, colonial Sunday laws were retained. It must be noted that throughout the nineteenth century the Bill of Rights of the Federal Constitution was not applied to the states. A few states even retained established churches

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<sup>9</sup>Varner J. Johns, Forty Centuries of Law and Liberty: A History of the Development of Religious Liberty (Mountain View, Calif.: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1940), p. 118. In commenting on the same subject, Snow stated that "for more than a century [after 1789], the nation passed no law of a religious nature. But of no state in the Union can this be said, not even of Rhode Island" (p. 236).

for a while. Massachusetts, for example, did not dis-establish its state-supported churches until 1833. There was, therefore, a dichotomy between the federal Constitution that separated church and state, and the constitutions of the states that kept alive (at least on their statute books) a connection between religion and government.<sup>10</sup> Other states that joined the United States subsequent to 1776 copied the example of the original thirteen states by adopting Sunday laws. In spite of the principle respecting religious freedom made clear in the First Amendment, the autonomy allowed the states to ensure the establishment and preservation of the Union left the whole subject to their uncontrolled discretion. The sovereignty of the states in religious matters remained unchallenged until the 1940s, when the First Amendment was applied to the states by the use of the Fourteenth Amendment.<sup>11</sup>

The state Sunday laws were not merely prohibitions to do business or to engage in "unnecessary" labor. Most forms of recreation, both commercial and non-commercial, were also forbidden on Sunday in most states. In 1883, for example, Pennsylvania legislated against any "unlawful gaming, hunting, shooting, sport, or diversion

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<sup>10</sup>Johns, Forty Centuries, p. 166.

<sup>11</sup>William H. Marnell, The First Amendment: The History of Religious Freedom in America (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Company, 1964), pp. 148-49.

whatsoever" on Sunday; it prohibited the drinking or selling of spiritous liquors "on the first day of the week"; and it stipulated a fine of fifty dollars for breach of the laws.<sup>12</sup> In 1881 the State of Washington made void any judicial business transacted on Sunday, except certain deliberations of a jury.<sup>13</sup> In Kentucky in 1883, persons found plying a "trade or calling" on Sunday, be it for profit or any other reason, were liable for prosecution in the state courts.<sup>14</sup> The Sunday law in most states recommended fines or imprisonment for anyone who disturbed an assembly gathered for worship.<sup>15</sup>

Some Sunday laws allowed an exemption to the conscientious seventh-day worshipper who performed secular duties on Sunday, "provided he disturb no other person."<sup>16</sup> This wide-open clause led to excuses for the harrassment of seventh-day Sabbath-keepers.

#### The District of Columbia and Sunday Legislation

An apparent anomaly emerged with respect to the District of Columbia, which was under the administration

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<sup>12</sup>William Addison Blakely, American State Papers Bearing on Sunday Legislation (New York: The National Religious Liberty Association, 1891), p. 313.

<sup>13</sup>Ibid., p. 322.

<sup>14</sup>Ibid., p. 287.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid., p. 294.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 295.

of Congress. The District, contrary to the First Amendment, had a Sunday law. In 1868, an act to punish blasphemers, swearers, drunkards, and Sabbath-breakers became law.<sup>17</sup> Proximity to the State of Maryland certainly influenced Sunday legislation in the District. The revised statutes of Congress (1873-74) stated the situation as follows: "The laws of the State of Maryland . . . except as since modified or repealed by Congress . . . continue in force within the District."<sup>18</sup> This action may be said to have been contrary to the First Amendment.

National Sunday Legislation:  
Agitation for Its Enactment

By 1884 there was still no national Sunday law, but some organizations exerted determined efforts to control the nation's conscience by placing requests for one before Congress. In 1810 and again in 1829 Congress received petitions from clergymen and others demanding the closure of post offices and post roads on Sunday. This was a reaction to a decision taken by Congress on April 26, 1810, that required postmasters to provide mail service every day of the week, including Sunday. The agitation boiled to an uncomfortable temperature. Opponents of Sunday employment petitioned for laws making Sunday labor a punishable offense. In 1810, and again in 1829, the Senate Committee on Post-offices and

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<sup>17</sup>Ibid., p. 279.

<sup>18</sup>Ibid.

Post-roads, under the chairmanship of Senator Richard M. Johnson, rejected such petitions.<sup>19</sup>

The proper object of government [Senator Johnson said] is to protect all persons in the enjoyment of their religious as well as civil rights, and not to determine for any whether they shall esteem one day above another, or esteem all days alike holy.<sup>20</sup>

Charles M. Snow has described the document of Johnson's committee as "calm, logical, and forcible in its wording, fearless and unanswerable in its reasoning,--a true classic on the principles of religious liberty."<sup>21</sup> Other supporters of the report of the committee hailed Johnson a patriot. Warren L. Johns later commented: "Cast in the philosophical mold of Madison and Jefferson, Johnson reveled in the atmosphere of religious liberty enjoyed by the new country."<sup>22</sup>

Insatiable and unrelenting activity continued in the hope of moving Congress to supplant the First Amendment. During the Civil War, Justice William Strong of the United States Supreme Court, in collaboration with a member of Congress, sought unsuccessfully to have the words "humbly acknowledging Almighty God as the source of all

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<sup>19</sup>Warren L. Johns, Dateline Sunday, U.S.A.: Story of Three and a Half Centuries of Sunday Law Battles in America (Mountain View, Calif.: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1967), pp. 33-41.

<sup>20</sup>Snow, Religious Liberty, p. 241. For a detailed account of the Sunday mails controversy, see Blakely, American State Papers, pp. 58-68, 82-124.

<sup>21</sup>Snow, Religious Liberty, p. 241.

<sup>22</sup>Johns, Dateline Sunday, p. 35.

authority and power in civil government" follow the introductory words of the national Constitution. Strong was a staunch Presbyterian.<sup>23</sup> In 1880 Emory Speer of Georgia introduced a bill in the House of Representatives to prohibit peacetime military concerts and dress parades on Sunday.<sup>24</sup> The bill, however, failed to gain the approval of the Committee on Military Affairs.

Efforts to gain a national Sunday law from Congress assumed a new form in 1863 with the formation of the National Reform Association. Through its organ, the Christian Statesman, the NRA dedicated itself to struggle for the maintenance of certain features in American life, such as Sunday laws and the teaching of Christianity in public schools.<sup>25</sup> In 1879 the NRA called for the formation of a National Sabbath Union, which became a reality eight years later under the leadership of Wilbur Crafts. It united the Christian churches for the promotion of Sunday sacredness. The National Sabbath Union survives today as the Lord's Day Alliance.<sup>26</sup>

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<sup>23</sup>Snow, Religious Liberty, pp. 258-59.

<sup>24</sup>U.S., Congress, Senate, Senator Emory Speer speaking for a Bill to Prohibit Military Concerts and Dress Parades on Sunday, 46th Con., 2d sess., 8 March 1880, Congressional Record 10:1386.

<sup>25</sup>Snow, Religious Liberty, p. 254.

<sup>26</sup>Dennis Lynn Pettibone, "Caesar's Sabbath: The Sunday Law Controversy in the United States, 1879-92," Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Riverside, 1979, p. 22.

While Sunday laws generally fell into disuse and were considered "dead letters," there were spasmodic outbursts of their enforcement. For example, before California repealed its Sunday laws in 1883, large numbers of arrests caused prosecution cases to accumulate and tax the court system. These harrassments were conveniently, inconsistently, and unfairly meted out to some sections of the population only in several states.<sup>27</sup> The weight of the law fell upon persons who chose to worship on the seventh instead of on the first day of the week.

Efforts to achieve national Sunday legislation stirred the awareness of nineteenth-century Seventh-day Adventists concerning the imminence of the second advent of Christ. The above section provides the background for some such determined efforts during the years 1884 through 1895. Adventist eschatological thinking was indeed affected by the attempts made to establish a national Sunday law, specifically through such proposed legislation as the Blair Sunday Rest bill. The treatment of this bill and other similar proposals is considered below.

Righteousness by Faith in the Seventh-day  
Adventist Church: Glimpses of the  
Doctrine Prior to 1884

Righteousness by faith became an essential constituent of Seventh-day Adventist eschatology. The

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<sup>27</sup>Ibid.



purpose of this section is to note the early glimpses of of this doctrine in Adventism before 1884. Pertinent selections from the writings of the founding leaders are used to accomplish this purpose.

By 1888 it had become apparent that the important doctrine of salvation by faith in Jesus alone was in desperate need of emphasis in the life and public witness of the nineteenth-century Seventh-day Adventist Church. Because most of the other churches did not attribute similar importance to the Ten Commandments and the seventh-day Sabbath as did Adventists, they attracted the pseudonym "legalists." Worse still, some Seventh-day Adventist preachers entertained debates on the law and the Sabbath.

In spite of the dominant position occupied by the law and the Sabbath among nineteenth-century Seventh-day Adventists, many believed that the individual experienced salvation through faith in Jesus alone. This belief received attention in the writings of some of the leaders of the denomination, even though it was blurred by the prominence they attributed to the law and the Sabbath.

As early as 1852 James White said that the gospel arrangement was very simple indeed, that while God's law convicted of sin, it had no power to pardon past guilt but "it leads [the sinner] to Christ, where justification for past offenses can be found alone through faith in His

blood."<sup>28</sup> White, as the first editor of the Review and Herald and a founder of the denomination, wielded much influence. Sixteen years after his 1852 statement, he reiterated this conviction in his autobiography.

Here let it be distinctly understood that there is no salvation in the law, that is, there is no redeeming quality in law. Redemption is through the blood of Christ. The sinner may cease to break the commandments of God, and strive with all his powers to keep them, but this will not atone for his sins, and redeem him from his present condition in consequence of past transgression. Notwithstanding all his efforts to keep the law of God, he must be lost without faith in the atoning blood of Jesus.<sup>29</sup>

White, in requesting to be "distinctly understood," was clearly polemical due to the critical environment. In 1877, almost a decade after his 1868 work, White exuded the same polemical flavor in discussing the plan of salvation.

Away with the idea that the law of God alone can save the sinner, however carefully he may observe all its precepts. The law is the rule of conduct. It condemns the violator, and holds him guilty until he suffers the penalty of his transgression or receives pardon through a mediating party. There is no redeeming power in law. . . . But away, away with the heresy that men may be saved by Christ and the gospel while trampling the law of God under their feet.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>28</sup>James White, "Justified by the Law," RH 3 (June 10, 1852): 24.

<sup>29</sup>Idem, Life Incidents, p. 354. See also, his Christ in the Old Testament and the Sabbath in the New (Oakland, Calif.: Pacific Press, 1877), p. 4.

<sup>30</sup>Idem, The Redeemer and Redeemed; or the Plan of Salvation Through Christ (Battle Creek, Mich.: Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1877), pp. 6-7.

In the above statement, White emphasized two points: the redeeming grace of Christ, and, at the same time, the necessity of obeying the law. Yet he did not recommend works as the means of salvation. It appears that he was recommending both redemption through Christ and obedience to the law as provisions for salvation. This method of portraying law plus grace or vice versa was popular during the developmental stages of righteousness by faith within the denomination.

Ellen White expressed views similar to those of James White. In 1864 she said that "angels held communication with Adam after his fall, and informed him of the plan of salvation. . . ." Although sin initiated a separation between the Creator and man, "provision had been made through the offering of His beloved son. . . ." <sup>31</sup>

Before writing her classic on the life of Christ, The Desire of Ages, Ellen White produced the Spirit of Prophecy in four volumes. Volumes 2 and 3 appeared during 1877 and 1878, and both volumes contained large portions on the life and redeeming ministry of Jesus. She said that Christ was made "man's substitute and surety . . . [and] was counted a transgressor that He might redeem them from the curse of the law." <sup>32</sup>

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<sup>31</sup>Ellen G. White, Spiritual Gifts, 3:52.

<sup>32</sup>Idem, The Spirit of Prophecy, 4 vols. (Battle Creek, Mich.: Steam Press of the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1870-84), 3:162. These volumes formed the seed-bed of one of her major works, The Great

In August 1879 Ellen White presented a series of four articles in the Signs of the Times. They all bore the same title, "The Sufferings of Christ."<sup>33</sup> Three themes appeared in these articles: (1) a reevaluation of their appreciation (on the part of the members) for the sufferings and death of Christ; (2) a call to the church to holy living; and (3) righteousness by faith. In the August 7 issue, Ellen White assured the denomination that Christ "consented to die in the sinner's stead, that man might, by a life of obedience, escape the penalty of the law of God."<sup>34</sup>

In 1884 Ellen White said that "Christ is the Savior of men, not by the law, for the law saves no one except through obedience, and man does not really obey until he is already saved."<sup>35</sup>

Ellen White continued to develop the subject from another point of view in the same article. She said that

in Christ the obligation of righteousness is met and fulfilled; not for man, as if there were no further

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Controversy Between Christ and Satan.

<sup>33</sup>Idem, "The Sufferings of Christ," ST 5 (August 7, 1879): 101-2; 5 (August 14, 1879): 102-3; 5 (August 21, 1879): 104-5; 5 (August 28, 1879): 105-6. These articles appeared for the first time in "Testimony" No. 17, 1879.

<sup>34</sup>Idem, "The Sufferings of Christ," ST 5 (August 7, 1879): 101.

<sup>35</sup>Idem, "Christ, 'the End of the Law,'" ST 10 (June 5, 1884): 338. Underlining supplied.

claim on man, but by man--actually by the man Christ and prophetically by the believer in Christ.<sup>36</sup>

In the foregoing statement the author integrated the mysterious aspects of Christ's incarnation and sacrificial death--the radical kenosis--into the salvation experience of the believer, for the satisfying of "the obligation of righteousness." Later in 1884 she said that faith must accompany by obedience to God's law.<sup>37</sup>

Other leaders also wrote on righteousness by faith. In 1865 Uriah Smith, in commenting on the book of Revelation, supplied fragmentary statements on the subject. This fragmentary nature is understandable since Smith's work is a commentary. He noted that Christ poured out His blood for the "offenses" of men.<sup>38</sup> In the same vein, Smith waxed poetic in exulting the "fitting song of adoration to be raised to Him who by the shedding of His blood became a ransom for many." Smith linked several concepts: Christ's sacrificial blood; the

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<sup>36</sup>Ibid.

<sup>37</sup>Idem, "The Immutability of the Law," ST 10 (September 4, 1884): 458.

<sup>38</sup>Smith, Thoughts, Critical and Practical on the Book of Revelation, p. 85. Uriah Smith was one who opposed the new emphasis on righteousness by faith in the 1880s, but later reconsidered his stance (pp. 288-89 of this study). See also, A. V. Olson, Thirteen Crisis Years, 1888-1901 (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1981), pp. 97-108. Olson's work first appeared under the title, Through Crisis to Victory (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1966).

application of the merits of Christ on the sinner's behalf as tied to the Savior's work as High Priest in the heavenly sanctuary; the pure life of piety made possible by Christ's power; and the infinite grace of God to prepare individuals for life hereafter.<sup>39</sup>

The Two Covenants by John N. Andrews (1869) disclosed the same non-treatment of righteousness by faith.<sup>40</sup> He made only one reference to the idea of "salvation through . . . [Christ's] blood."<sup>41</sup>

In 1883 M. C. Wilcox did better. He wrote:

By coming to God with sincere sorrow for our sins, and the determination to do wrong no more, by faith in Christ forgiveness is granted us. God for Christ's sake forgives our sins (Eph. 4:32). The repentance, however, must be genuine, or forgiveness will not be granted. It will only be found when it is sought for with all the heart, when sin appears exceedingly sinful; every known sin is cherished no longer, and so far as possible, restoration is made (Jer. 29:13; Eze. 33:14-16). Christ's perfect righteousness covers our unrighteousness; His character is imparted to us, and our sins are 'passed over' (Rom. 4:7, 8). Our names are now written in the 'book of life.'<sup>42</sup>

J. O. Corliss, in "The Law and the Gospel" (1885), maintained a close balance between the two concepts. He said that in order for "the gospel to be

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<sup>39</sup>Ibid., p. 89.

<sup>40</sup>J. N. Andrews, The Two Covenants (Battle Creek, Mich.: Review and Herald, 1869), p. 4.

<sup>41</sup>Ibid., p. 5.

<sup>42</sup>M. C. Wilcox, "Forgiveness, Atonement," RH 60 (September 25, 1883): 610.

effective [it] must go hand in hand with the law."<sup>43</sup>

The above sample is representative of the unfolding of the doctrine of righteousness by faith prior to the 1888 theological controversy on this subject. Early leaders of the denomination appear to have blended the popular understanding of salvation by grace in the churches they left with the new doctrines they embraced when they became Sabbatarian Adventists. The titles of some of the articles that discussed righteousness by faith support this point of view. For example: "The Immutability of the Law," "Christ 'the End of the Law,'" and "The Law and the Gospel."<sup>44</sup> It may be that the leaders of the denomination feared that a fully Christocentric enunciation of righteousness by faith would give the impression that they were disloyal to the claims of the law, thereby erasing a key doctrinal distinctive of their denomination.

Many did believe in righteousness by faith, but too often in a theoretical rather than effective manner. "Without knowing it," Froom and Olson observed, "many had drifted into formalism and legalism."<sup>45</sup> Feeling

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<sup>43</sup>J. O. Corliss, "The Law and the Gospel," ST 11 (February 5, 1885): 487.

<sup>44</sup>Ellen G. White, "The Immutability of the Law," ST 10 (September 4, 1884): 458; idem, "Christ 'the End of the Law,'" ST 10 (June 5, 1884): 338; J. O. Corliss, "The Law and the Gospel," ST 11 (February 5, 1887): 487.

<sup>45</sup>Froom, Movement of Destiny, p. 182; Olson, Thirteen Crisis Years, p. 27.

something was wrong, many longed for spiritual renewal.

Some began to perceive the meaning of the "faith of Jesus" as part of the "third angel's message." For example, in 1880 G. C. Tenny, in attempting to refute the charge that Seventh-day Adventists were legalists, presented a list of "the peculiar views held by" the body. Tenny, in pointing out that "Christ is the great central character in every Bible doctrine," indicated that "the third angel's message is the forerunner of the second advent of Christ; and it proclaims not only the commandments of God, but also the faith of Jesus."<sup>46</sup>

In spite of Tenny's emphasis on the proclamation of "not only the commandments of God, but also the faith of Jesus," he did not make a clear connection between the third angel's message and righteousness by faith. Further, Tenny did not even explicate what the words "the faith of Jesus" meant. After 1884, however, it is shown that E. J. Waggoner, A. T. Jones, Ellen White, and others developed a strong eschatological link between righteousness by faith and the third angel's message.

#### Organized Labor: A Rising Force

Labor associations had existed in America before the American Revolution. When these associations were

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<sup>46</sup>G. C. Tenny, "Preaching Christ," RH 56 (September 16, 1880): 200, 201. Even though Tenny did not move on to righteousness by faith, he issued a welcome sign.



first formed, they were temporary and short-lived, disintegrating after the solution of the particular labor problem that brought about their formation. Through the early decades of the nineteenth century they were open to skilled workers only and limited themselves to a single "shop" or work site. Later they developed into city-wide associations.

This section treats organized labor before the Civil War, organized labor after the Civil War to 1884, and the attitude of the Seventh-day Adventist Church toward organized labor prior to 1884.

#### Organized Labor before the Civil War

The awareness of the special needs of labor consciousness fluctuated in the early nineteenth century in response to changes in the economic, social, and political environment. For instance, hard times after the War of 1812 emasculated the fervor of labor struggles. "The post-war depression not only destroyed labor organizations," said Joseph C. Rayback, "but also ended the dominance of the wholesale-order manufacturer."<sup>47</sup> This decline in the pooling of human and other resources for the purpose of collective bargaining did not last indefinitely. The economic climate of the 1820s sparked a resurgence of labor organizations on a permanent basis.

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<sup>47</sup>Joseph G. Rayback, A History of American Labor (New York: The Free Press, 1966), p. 58.

The period between 1821 and 1828 was one of prosperity, creating an "abnormally strong demand for labor." To minimize exploitation generally, and to oppose the merchant-capitalist specifically, industrial and other categories of workers once more organized themselves. Workers organized through the 1820s and the organizations that first used the designation "union" to describe a labor organization came up among the factory workers. Organized labor fused with party politics. Labor leaders believed that political control would ensure them leverage to solve labor problems.<sup>48</sup>

From this resurgence in the 1820s labor unions developed to be a formidable force through the rest of the nineteenth century. The fortunes and failures of organized labor fluctuated. There were periods of spurts, halts, and reverses. A hostile press, unfavorable public opinion, and the ability of employers to easily enlist strikebreakers (especially immigrants) affected the growth of the labor organizations. Through the 1850s "only a few American workers belonged to trade unions," and a powerful movement to champion the cause of

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<sup>48</sup>Ibid., pp. 58, 62-74. In 1828 the Mechanics Union transformed itself into the Republican Political Association of the Workingmen of the City of Philadelphia (p. 67). The terms, "trade unions" (organizations for the skilled workers) and "labor unions" (organizations for the unskilled workers) are used interchangeably in this study.

the laborers did not emerge until after the Civil War.<sup>49</sup>

Workers organized for economic survival. They agitated for increased wages, reduced working hours (the twelve-hour work day was common), humane working conditions, the amelioration of the lot of children, and some other demands. From the mid 1830s and into the 1840s many New England states adopted the ten-hour day. Several years passed before the eight-hour day began to gain acceptance in the 1870s.<sup>50</sup> The major weapon of the unions was the strike; there were four hundred of them during 1853 and 1854.<sup>51</sup> After the Civil War, strikes increased in magnitude. The great railway strike of 1877 shocked the nation and did not score positive points for organized labor in the opinion of its critics. Other methods of coercion were the boycott, the sit-in, and the closed shop (the debarring of nonunion members from working at a shop). The most sophisticated negotiating method--collective bargaining--allowed union leaders and employers to rationally work out a settlement. Collective bargaining has been viewed as a concept as well as

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<sup>49</sup>Blum et al., National Experience, pp. 320-21.

<sup>50</sup>Rayback, History of American Labor, pp. 96, 115-19. In 1863 Ira Steward of Boston, who became known as the "eight-hour monomaniac," led the new eight-hour movement. Steward argued that men who worked fourteen hours a day had neither the energy nor the imagination to produce the simplest demands, not even to request better conditions on their own behalf.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid., p. 104.

a process that allows the expression of divergent viewpoints about industrial relationships for the purpose of ultimately reaching agreements and reconciliations.<sup>52</sup>

In 1834 many city federations united to form the National Trades' Union. While the function of this body was mainly advisory, it took an active part in fighting for a ten-hour work day. With the Panic of 1837, however, most labor organizations died, being starved of financial support from their unemployed members. The National Trades' Union also disintegrated by 1839, but the idea of uniting several unions into national organizations became a regular feature after the Civil War.

#### Organized Labor between the Civil War and 1884

The immediate post-bellum years witnessed rapid changes in the American society, affecting every level of life. The festering debate over slavery had settled into an uneasy calm. In the areas of industry, commerce, and labor, new technologies began to change the texture of American life from a rural, agrarian community to an urban, industrial one. Machines displaced many men, unemployment rose, and job satisfaction decreased as men became cogs in the industrial machine. Post-Civil War capital and labor struggles became complex and very

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<sup>52</sup>George P. Schultz and John R. Coleman, Labor Problems: Cases and Readings (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Company, 1959), p. 143.

intensified as organized labor pressed its crusade against the commanding heights of industry to get what it considered its fair share of the profits.

In 1866 a new national organization arose, the National Labor Union. Ironically, while the local labor unions declined during the immediate post-bellum years, the National Labor Union prospered and achieved some significant victories, but only for a time. Like its predecessor, the National Trades' Union, the National Labor Union also disappeared abruptly (in 1872). Rayback attributed its demise to its members holding conflicting philosophies with regard to strategy: the achievement of objectives through political action on one hand, and trade unionism "pure and simple," on the other.<sup>53</sup>

Labor unions of the 1880s through the early 1890s formed new national organizations.<sup>54</sup> The Knights of Labor, an outstanding one, wielded great influence.<sup>55</sup> This organization receives extra treatment in this

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<sup>53</sup>Rayback, History of American Labor, pp. 80, 92, 115-27. Some of the achievements of the National Labor Union included the organizing of new local unions, initiating of the eight-hour drive, and the conclusion of the movement to repeal the Contract Labor Act.

<sup>54</sup>Ibid., pp. 142-68.

<sup>55</sup>Foster Rhea Dulles, Labor in America: A History (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company, 1949), p. 126. For full details on the Noble Order of the Knights of Labor, see also, Rayback, History of American Labor, pp. 142-68; John R. Commons et al., History of Labour in the United States (New York: Macmillan Company, 1921), pp. 195-202; Dulles, Labor in America: A History, pp. 126-49.

section of the study because its structure and behavior provoked certain reaction that helps us to determine the attitude of late nineteenth-century Adventists toward organized labor. The Knights started inconspicuously in 1869 and achieved national significance in 1878. It attracted all levels of workers--skilled tradesmen as well as laborers--and had no barriers with regard to sex, creed, race, or color. This national union introduced the secret ritual. The organization, also called the Order, deemed it necessary to adopt secrecy as a means of protection from employer spies. Members kept the name of the organization and the names of other members a secret. The ritual required new members to swear to defend the "life, interest, reputation, and family of all . . . members."<sup>56</sup> In 1881 the Knights of Labor bowed to public pressure and made their name and some other aspects of the organization public.

In spite of the view of the critics, leaders of the Knights of Labor held high moral objectives for the Order. Uriah Stephens, the first Grand Master Workman, had begun training for the Baptist ministry but abandoned his studies after the Panic of 1837. He favored conciliation rather than strikes and violence. The following statement gives a view of his philosophy:

Cultivate friendship among the great brotherhood of toil; learn to respect industry in the person of

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<sup>56</sup>Commons et al., History of Labour, pp. 332-35.

every intelligent worker; unmask the shams of life by deference to the humble but useful craftsman; beget concert of action by conciliation. . . . The work to which this fraternity addresses itself is one of the greatest magnitude ever attempted in the history of the world. . . . It builds upon the immutable basis of the Fatherhood of God, and the logical principle of the brotherhood of man. . . .<sup>57</sup>

Apparently Stephens's noble approach to the solution of labor problems through "concert of action by conciliation" declined with his resignation from the presidency in 1879. Strikes became a major weapon of the Knights of Labor, even though Terrence V. Powderly, Stephens's successor, did not endorse them either.<sup>58</sup>

The question of the worker's choice to strike has been one of passionate debate. The religious community of the nineteenth century was divided on the question. Some defended the individual right of a laborer to stop work (while rejecting at the same time a labor union pressuring the worker to do so). Others supported the consensus that the entire strike idea was evil, possessing within itself the tainted seed of violence, destruction, and corruption.<sup>59</sup> Another group bemoaned the poor conditions that had to be endured by the workers. Horace Bushnell said that "looking over this whole chapter of our civil and social state, we are mortified to find how

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<sup>57</sup>Uriah Stephens, quoted in Dulles, Labor in America, p. 129.

<sup>58</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 137-38.

<sup>59</sup>May, Protestant Churches, pp. 56-57.

largely it is a chapter of wrongs,"<sup>60</sup> he charged.

In addition to the Knights of Labor, the International Workingmen's Association (Section 1), the International Labor Union, and the Cigarmaker's Union were also national organizations. The International Workingmen's Association (Section 1) began in 1865 as the German Workingmen's Union. It adopted Marxian socialism and aimed to overthrow capitalism through trade unions. In 1864 Karl Marx himself had formed the parent body in London. Another group, the International Labor Union, which was organized in 1878, also had socialistic and political ambitions.<sup>61</sup> There was constant fear that communism (a system uplifting the common ownership of property as opposed to rugged individualism) would infiltrate the society and the government. As a result, the aversion against the "International" by many religious groups sprang from two sources: (1) the fact that it was a leader in organized-labor activities, and (2) because of its alleged connection to international communism.

Unlike the two preceding organizations, the Cigarmakers' Union epitomized trade unionism "pure and simple"; it did not mix socialistic politics with organized labor relations. This conglomerate began in 1878

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<sup>60</sup>Horace Bushnell, Women's Suffrage: The Reform Against Nature (New York: Charles Scribner and Company, 1869), p. 11.

<sup>61</sup>Rayback, History of American Labor, pp. 142-63.



under the presidency of Samuel Gompers, who featured prominently in the American Federation of Labor in the mid 1880s.

A more expanded version of the national labor organization came into being in 1881 with the formation of the Federation of Organized Trades and Labor Unions of the United States and Canada. This body, created by the disgruntled and disenchanted members of several other urban and national groups, was never vibrant. Rivalry, precipitated by the intricate maneuvering of labor politics, existed. Factions battled each other over policies, methods, and strategies. The Knights of Labor, on the other hand, grew rapidly, and their growth provoked jealousy among other national labor organizations.<sup>62</sup>

Two aspects of the conflict between capital and labor need to be stressed: the greed of the capitalists and the violence of strikes. The desire of some employers to amass wealth quickly apparently created an insensitivity to the welfare of employees. The reaction of the employees in utilizing the strike weapon got out of control on many occasions. In many instances the original intention of the strikers seems to have been simply to stage sessions of passive resistance. Whenever the situation deteriorated, however, and violence erupted, the critical and vexatious response of the

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<sup>62</sup>Ibid.

citizenry (including those who might have previously sympathized with the strikers) descended always upon the hapless laborers. The almost incorrigible greed of the capitalist class was generally forgotten because of the horror, loss, and pain resulting from the workers' violence. The fifth chapter of the book of James censures the greed of the rich employer and counsels mistreated laborers to patiently wait for the "coming of the Lord" (vs 8). In the period of 1884 through 1895, Seventh-day Adventists attributed eschatological significance to capital and labor strife in view of Jas 5:1-8.

This background provides an overview of organized labor in America up to 1884. The section below considers the perception of the denomination regarding the labor movement before 1884 as expressed in the Review and Herald.

#### Seventh-day Adventist Attitude toward Organized Labor Prior to 1884

Seventh-day Adventists, during the development of labor consciousness in the nineteenth century, could not have insulated themselves from the dominant Protestant views concerning organized labor. The word "dominant" underscores the diversity that existed among Protestants of the period. Before discussing Seventh-day Adventists and the labor question, therefore, it is useful to note briefly the attitude of nineteenth-century Protestantism toward organized labor. This "established Protestant bloc

formed a powerful body of Protestant opinion, remarkably united in its attitude toward society."<sup>63</sup>

The general attitude of conservative, institutionalized Protestantism (not the total attitude) was one that supported the central economic and political institutions of the country,<sup>64</sup> being strongly supportive of the rising industrialists but largely oblivious to the workers and their plight.<sup>65</sup> This attitude raised a paradox in nineteenth-century Protestantism, which engaged itself in all sorts of humanitarian reforms. It was not difficult to resolve the paradox: If America were the "Redeemer Nation," industrialists who brought prosperity deserved praise and support; conversely, trade unions, labor legislation, strikes, and atheistic, Marxian socialism deserved opposition and censure because they were seen as threats against the established order.<sup>66</sup> On

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<sup>63</sup>May, Protestant Churches, pp. ix-x. The author named the Presbyterian, Congregationalist, Baptist, Methodist, and Episcopalian as the main buttresses of what he designated the "Protestant bloc." He linked the Catholic, Lutheran, and Reformed bodies with European developments. The Disciples of Christ in nineteenth-century America were basically rural, according to his view and, therefore, cut off from the shocks resulting from the developing industrial crisis. Old groups like the Friends, and new ones like the Christian Scientists "were separated," May said, "from historic Protestantism by their entirely different religious outlook."

<sup>64</sup>Ibid., p. 29.

<sup>65</sup>Herbert G. Gutman, Work, Culture, and Society in Industrializing America (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1976), pp. 81-83.

<sup>66</sup>Some clergymen supported the laissez-faire

the opposite side were the proponents of the Social Gospel, who formed the liberal, Protestant buttress for labor unions in the late nineteenth century. The Roman Catholics were also pro-labor at this time.

Nineteenth-century Seventh-day Adventists could not have escaped contact with the religious, economic, and social context treated above. The first mention of organized labor appeared in the Review and Herald in 1872.<sup>67</sup> In that year the denomination joined other Protestant bodies in speaking out against the Knights of Labor. G. I. Butler, president of the General Conference, charged the labor unions with imitating the Masonic orders. He stated that "their secrecy and exclusiveness are contrary to the genius of religion."<sup>68</sup>

The 1877 Railway Strikes produced violence. The workers, angered by a 35 percent wage-cut in three years, irregular employment, high living expenses in the railway hotels while away from home, and other hurts,

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economic system and openly attacked organized labor. See F. D. Huntingdon, Human Society: Its Providential Structure, Relations and Offices (New York, 1860), pp. 82-83, 120-21. It must be made clear that Seventh-day Adventists did not participate in the "Redeemer Nation" and the Christianization of America points of view.

<sup>67</sup>Eugene Chellis, "The Review and Herald and Early Adventist Response to Organized Labor," Spectrum 13 (August 1979): 21.

<sup>68</sup>G. I. Butler, "Secret Societies," RH 41 (December 17, 1872): 4-5. Like the Adventists, most Protestants groups were also against secret societies. In their defense, the labor leaders argued that secrecy was necessary to protect their members from victimization.

exploded with bitterness.<sup>69</sup> Seventh-day Adventists branded these upheavals as the work of communists. Uriah Smith noted that the strike--which was accompanied by riot, pillage, and arson--"can be traced to the International Society of the United States, and that the great masses of American workingmen are united in this secret organization."<sup>70</sup> Also in 1877 the Review and Herald reprinted an article from another publication against the "International"--an organization whose aims regarding organized labor were held to be synonymous with communism.<sup>71</sup>

Chellis has observed that Seventh-day Adventists opposed labor unions in light of their view of prophecy:

They saw unions as dangerously worldly associations restricting individual freedom of conscience. Bolstered by faith in their prophetic guidance, Adventists confidently maintained that all labor organizations were evil.<sup>72</sup>

Carlos Schwantes has expressed similar views stating that Seventh-day Adventists regarded labor unions

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<sup>69</sup>Rayback, History of American Labor, p. 134.

<sup>70</sup>U[riah] S[mith], "The Outlook," RH, 50 (October 11, 1877): 113.

<sup>71</sup>"The Commune," RH 50 (October 11, 1877): 113. This unsigned article which was reprinted from another publication has no editorial comment. It would appear that its sentiments were fully accepted and therefore adopted by the editor of the Review and Herald. See also [Uriah Smith], "The International-Communism," RH 39 (March 26, 1872): 116.

<sup>72</sup>Chellis, "Early Adventist Response to Organized Labor," p. 21.

as "the greatest enemies of the working man." Schwantes also advanced some propositions which he believed influenced the Adventist position:

Their opposition was based on four cardinal assumptions: strikes and disorder failed to better the status of the working masses and threatened social stability, thereby endangering religious freedom; labor unions were undesirable secret societies; the Roman Catholic Church manipulated labor unions for its own religious ends; and labor unions represented a threat to the individual freedom upon which Adventist Protestantism was predicated.<sup>73</sup>

Uriah Smith, in commenting upon the railway strikes of 1877 and, presumably, the Molly Maguire riots of 1875-76, went beyond labor politics and secular jargon by placing the issues within an eschatological setting. Smith stated that "surely the elements are rapidly accumulating for a time of trouble such as never was."<sup>74</sup>

While the literature reveals that the denomination openly decried organized labor, there seems to have been much sympathy for the plight of the individual laborer. It is evident that the other-worldly passion of nineteenth-century Seventh-day Adventists and their view of prophecy motivated them to translate the social issues in the natural world around them into eschatological terms. They then utilized these issues to forecast the

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<sup>73</sup>Carlos Schwantes, "Labor Unions and Seventh-day Adventists: The Formative Years, 1877-1903," Adventist Heritage (Winter 1977): 14

<sup>74</sup>U[riah] S[mith], "The Outlook," RH 50 (October 11, 1877): 113.

closing events of this world's history and the imminence of the second advent of Christ.

#### Summary

After the close of the Civil War, industrialization, urbanization, immigration, and the intellectual revolution instilled grave apprehensions among Protestant leaders, laboring as they were to develop America as a Christian nation. Darwin's Origin of the Species (1859) spearheaded this intellectual revolution. In an attempt to address the threatening forces, the holiness revival and the Social Gospel movement embarked, respectively, upon programs of spiritual and social reconstruction. At the same time, organized labor intensified its struggle on a national scale.

While Protestant leaders concluded that the contemporary "evils" impeded the Christianization of America and the reformation of society, Seventh-day Adventists, informed by their eschatological understanding, called these "evils" signs of the end of the world. Indeed, they believed that the crusade by the National Reform Association for the enforcement of Sunday sacredness signaled the fulfillment of the prophecies of Rev 13.

In the context of all that was happening around them both secularly and religiously, Seventh-day Adventists stood on the threshold of the expansion of their unique theological and eschatological self-understanding.

Before 1884 they had already perceived the manner in which one of the three selected factors of this study--Sunday legislation--affected their eschatology. With respect to the other two factors--righteousness by faith and organized labor--their perception of the relation between these factors and Adventist eschatology developed after 1884. In view of the understanding that the third angel's message of Rev 14 contains essential elements of Adventist eschatology, it is of interest to note the unfolding of the link between the third angel's message and righteousness by faith after 1884. Concerning organized labor, it appears from the literature that it was also after 1884 that the denomination emphasized the eschatological significance of Jas 5.

Late nineteenth-century Adventists kept alive the consciousness that the second coming of Christ was imminent. In contrast to the Millerites of the 1840s whose misinterpretation of Dan 8:14 precipitated two disappointments relative to the second advent, the late nineteenth-century Adventists placed the emphasis on the quickening of the pace of the developments around them. They understood these developments as the fulfillment of the prophecies regarding the second advent.

But most importantly, the need of preparing for the climactic event--the second coming of Christ--was crucial to Adventists in view of their belief that the the prophecies of Rev 14 were being fulfilled.



Chapter 3 enters the actual time period of this study. It begins to present some pertinent developmental trends in Adventist eschatology from 1884 through 1888.

CHAPTER III

SIGNIFICANT FACTORS THAT AFFECTED THE DEVELOPMENT OF  
SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST ESCHATOLOGY  
1884-1888

Chapters 1 and 2 provide the groundwork for this study. This chapter begins to treat three important factors that affected the development of Seventh-day Adventist eschatology in the late nineteenth century. These factors are: Sunday legislation and some of its corollaries; the righteousness-by-faith message that was given importance during the 1888 General Conference session held at Minneapolis, Minnesota; and the attitude of Seventh-day Adventists toward organized labor. Selected from other factors, this study considers these factors are central to its purpose.

Nineteenth-century Seventh-day Adventists nurtured an ever-present consciousness that the second coming of Christ was imminent. The two Millerite disappointments did not erase that consciousness from the minds of those Millerites who later became Seventh-day Adventists. Rather, the Adventist thought leaders monitored what they interpreted as prophetic fulfillments

and marked them as signs of the coming of the Lord. This study asserts that the response of Seventh-day Adventists to Sunday legislation, righteousness by faith, and organized labor heightened their conviction that the second coming of Christ was "even at the door."

Sunday Legislation and Seventh-day Adventist  
Eschatology, 1884-1888

Dennis Pettibone has observed that the Sunday-law controversy was really more important in American political history between 1879 and 1892 than has generally been supposed.<sup>1</sup> Sunday legislation in the seething post-Civil War period arose from the concern of Protestant Americans over the lax observance of Sunday. Blame fell mainly upon the Irish and German Roman Catholics who preferred the "continental Sabbath." It also fell upon a "few blatant, beer-drinking foreigners, sustained by lower elements among the citizenry";<sup>2</sup> upon native Protestants who traveled on the "Lord's Day"; upon businesses and corporations who compelled their employees to labor every day of the week; and eventually upon Jews, Seventh Day Baptists, and Seventh-day Adventists who worshipped on Saturday and used Sunday for secular affairs.

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<sup>1</sup>Dennis Lynn Pettibone, "Caesar's Sabbath: The Sunday Law Controversy in the United States, 1879-92," Ph.D. dissertation, University of California, Riverside, 1979, p. 2.

<sup>2</sup>Charles B. Reynolds, "The Sanctity of the Sabbath," RH 56 (July 31, 1879): 42.

Since the National Reform Association (NRA) worked hard to secure a national Sunday law, a brief look at some of the efforts of this association follows.

#### The National Reform Association

The NRA assumed the responsibility for charting a program for the "purification of the nation." Among the several objectives of the organization, the most pertinent was the effort to influence Congress to pass an amendment to the United States Constitution. The aim of this amendment was to protect the sanctity of the "Lord's Day," or Sunday. Obviously, this was counter to both the letter and the spirit of the First Amendment. The representatives of the NRA, however, in spite of soliciting the state's authority, denied that they were attempting to unite church and state. They further cajoled the populace by stating that Seventh-day Adventists and other dissenting groups could expect better treatment from a government that took its source of authority from the Bible than from a completely secular administration. Alonzo T. Jones, who strongly opposed the work of the NRA, quoted the fifth resolution of the Cleveland National Reform Convention to illustrate the subtle attitude of the association.

Resolved, That we reaffirm that this religious amendment, instead of infringing on any individual's right of conscience or tending in the least degree to a union of Church and State, will afford fullest security against a corrupting church establishment,

and form the strongest safeguard of . . . the civil and religious liberties of all citizens.<sup>3</sup>

Jones said in the Review article that the actions and writings of the national reformers exposed their real motives. The fact that "Sunday-breakers" were prosecuted in some states supported the fears of those who fell outside of the good graces of the national reformers. The prosecutions against Seventh-day Adventists in the state of Arkansas during the middle 1880s reinforced the concerns of the denomination.<sup>4</sup>

The NRA tried not to be abrasive, but it was very

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<sup>3</sup>Cited by Alonzo T. Jones in "Another Fallacy," RH 61 (April 1, 1884): 209.

<sup>4</sup>During the 1880s and 1890s, seventeen of the forty-eight states prosecuted "Sunday breakers." From 1885 to 1896 over one hundred Seventh-day Adventists were prosecuted for laboring on Sunday. See Ken Burrell, "Seventh-day Adventists' Experience with Sunday Laws in the 1880s and 1890s," term paper, Andrews University, 1970. The prosecutions in Arkansas sparked many articles in Seventh-day Adventist periodicals. E. J. Waggoner stated that "Sabbath-keepers in Arkansas are being put to serious trouble on account of their faith." See, "The Best Argument for Sunday," ST 11 (November 5, 1885): 665. See also E. W. Farnsworth, "Our Work and the Sunday Trials in Arkansas," RH 62 (November 17, 1885): 712-13; "Prosecutions for Sunday Labor," ST 11 (December 10, 1885): 744-45; "The Arkansas Trials," RH 63 (January 12, 1886): 32; "Testing of the Right to Observe the Seventh Day," AS 1 (February 1886): 16; G. I. Butler, "The Sunday Crisis Approaching," RH 63 (July 6, 1886): 624; "Items from the General Conference," ST 12 (December 2, 1886): 726-27. See also, Wayne Gosling, "The Earliest Work in Arkansas (1877 to the Organization into a Conference, 1888) and the Persecution of the Movement Through Sunday Laws," term paper, Seventh-day Adventist Theological Seminary, 1980.

For a detailed treatment of "The Celebrated King Case" of Tennessee, see William A. Blakeley, American State Papers, pp. 330-60.

difficult for its leadership to hide the true intent of their desires. J. H. Waggoner, a leading Seventh-day Adventist minister, concluded that the NRA coolly talked of tolerating other Christians on condition that they did not come in conflict with established religion.<sup>5</sup>

William Blakeley (author of American State Papers that became a useful resource in the struggle against Sunday legislation) observed in the Review that in every vital point the national reform movement was like the movement in the Roman Empire--a movement that played a crucial role during the Dark Ages. This role contributed to the establishment of the papacy and, finally, to the uniting of church and state. Blakeley warned that the NRA sought to destroy the unique principles of the United States government.<sup>6</sup> Even if the movement dealt in general principles before the Mansfield, Ohio, convention of 1879, W. H. Littlejohn argued that those meetings had made it clear "that one of the grand objective points of the movement was the enforcement of Sunday laws."<sup>7</sup>

The situation became a pitched battle in the late 1880s. The proponents, led by the NRA, comprised almost

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<sup>5</sup>J. H. W[aggoner], "A Principle to Be Remembered," AS 2 (September 1887): 65-66.

<sup>6</sup>W. A. Blakeley, "Is It a Union of Church and State?" RH 64 (August 23, 1887): 534.

<sup>7</sup>W. H. Littlejohn, The Coming Conflict (Battle Creek, Michigan: Review and Herald Publishing House, 1883), p. xxi.

twenty groups drawn from a wide spectrum of society, such as the American Sabbath Union (later, the Lord's Day Alliance), the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, politicians and public officials, courts and judges, the Roman Catholic Church, and the Knights of Labor. Interestingly, the Roman Catholics straddled the issue. When it suited their convenience they supported both sides of the controversy.<sup>8</sup>

Opponents to Sunday legislation also came from a wide social spectrum, perhaps as many as fifteen groups, with Seventh-day Adventists heading the list, followed by Seventh Day Baptists and Jews. The national reformers considered the Seventh-day Adventists their best organized and most tenacious "enemies."<sup>9</sup>

Toward the end of the 1880s, the national reform lobbyists intensified their pressure to achieve Sunday legislation through a constitutional amendment. The attempt to achieve this amendment represented the

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<sup>8</sup>Pettibone, "Caesar's Sabbath," p. 90.

<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 20. With respect to the support the national reformers received from the Roman Catholics, J. H. Waggoner stated that the reformers praised them for their church-state principles and were willing to unite with them to effect a change in the Constitution. See, J. H. W[aggoner], "What Is the Harm?" AS 2 (April 1887): 25-27. Ellen White stated that during the period of agitation, Protestants regarded Romanism with more favor than in former years. She said that she noticed an increasing indifference concerning the doctrines that separated the reformed churches from the papal hierarchy. See, "Protestantism and Catholicism Uniting," ST 11 (August 20, 1885): 497-98.

determined effort of several groups. Senator H. W. Blair introduced his historic bills during this period. The section which follows presents some pertinent details on these bills.

The Blair Sunday Rest  
Bill of 1888

Beginning in 1888, and stretching through 1892, a sustained effort on the part of those wanting to commit the United States Government to the principle of Sunday legislation yielded the Blair bills, the Breckenridge bills, the District of Columbia ice bill, and the Sunday-closing rider to the world's fair appropriation bill. The bill introduced in the United States Senate in 1888 by Senator H. W. Blair of New Hampshire is commonly known as the Blair Sunday Rest Bill.

The Blair Sunday Rest Bill represented a resurgence of the agitation for a national Sunday law. Since 1829 Congress had received no request to consider such a bill again until 1885. On April 6, 1888, the Woman's Christian Temperance Union appealed to Congress for the prohibition of Sunday mails, Sunday trains, and Sunday parades in the army and navy.<sup>10</sup> Senator Blair responded. About a month after he received the request from the

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<sup>10</sup>Eric D. Syme, A History of Seventh-day Adventist Church-State Relations in the United States (Mountain View, California, 1973), pp. 29-30; A. T. Jones, "The Plea for National Sunday Legislation," ST 14 (June 8, 1888): 343-44.



women's organization, Blair introduced the Sunday Rest Bill that had originally been framed by the NRA and the American Sabbath Union. The preamble (including the title) and section one of the Blair Sunday Rest Bill read as follows:

In the Senate of the United States, May 21, 1888, Mr. Blair introduced the following bill, which was read twice, and referred to the Committee on Education and Labor:-

A bill to secure to the people the enjoyment of the first day of the week, commonly known as the Lord's day, as a day of rest, and to promote its observance as a day of religious worship.

Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled. That no person, or corporation, or the agent, servant, or employee of any person or corporation, shall perform or authorize to be performed any secular work, labor, or business to the disturbance of others, works of necessity, mercy, and humanity excepted; nor shall any person engage in any plan, game, or amusement, or recreation to the disturbance of others, on the first day of the week, commonly known as the Lord's day, or during any part thereof, in any territory, district, vessel, or place subject to the exclusive jurisdiction of the United States; nor shall it be lawful for any person or corporation to receive pay for labor or service performed or rendered in violation of this section.<sup>11</sup>

Four days later, on May 25, 1888, Senator Blair, at the request of the NRA, introduced a "joint resolution proposing an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States Respecting Establishments of Religion." This bill required that all public-school children should be taught "in the common branches of knowledge,

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<sup>11</sup>U.S. Congress, Senate, A Bill to Secure to the People the Enjoyment of the First Day of the Week, Commonly Known as the Lord's Day, as a Day of Rest, and to Promote Its Observance as a Day of Religious Worship. S. 2983, 50th Cong., 1st sess., 21 May 1888, Congressional Record 19:4455.

and in virtue, morality, and the principles of the Christian religion."<sup>12</sup> This amendment aimed at the establishment of Christianity as the national religion and thus to make America a Christian nation.

Both the Lord's day bill and the resolution proposing an amendment to the Constitution requiring the state to define and teach "the principles of the Christian religion" failed to pass Congress. But Senator Blair would make another attempt later.<sup>13</sup>

The Blair bills created a stir and provoked a determined reaction from some quarters.

#### Seventh-day Adventist Opposition to Sunday Legislation, 1884-1888

Seventh-day Adventists consistently challenged the work of the NRA. In 1884 the denomination's leaders entered a new phase of their opposition when they began to publish The Sabbath Sentinel. The purpose of the paper was to combat the work of the reform movement by making the general public aware of the hidden ramifications of the issue, and by sensitizing members of the denomination to the eschatological verities involved. This was the earliest Seventh-day Adventist periodical

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<sup>12</sup>U.S. Congress, Senate, A Joint Resolution Proposing an Amendment to the Constitution of the United States Respecting Establishments of Religion. S. Res. 86, 50th Cong., 1st sess., 25 May 1888, Congressional Record 19:4615.

<sup>13</sup>This attempt by Senator Blair is discussed in the 1889-95 section of this study.

devoted to religious liberty. It also, in the context of truth and error, presented the seventh-day Sabbath as the correct day of Christian worship as endorsed by the Bible.<sup>14</sup>

Even though The Sabbath Sentinel was short lived, ending the same year it began, it had a significant impact on the Sunday-legislation issue. More than half a million copies were circulated.<sup>15</sup> Frequent mention of the paper and the purpose for its publication, the progress of the subscription efforts, and the impact of the paper on the "crisis" appeared in the Review and Herald. For example, in the January 1, 1884, issue, G. I. Butler, president of the General Conference, reported that at a meeting at Bushnell, Michigan (where the Lord's coming received emphasis, and the people were "encouraged . . . to go to work"<sup>16</sup>), inspiration rose to action, and orders were taken for one hundred copies of The Sabbath Sentinel.<sup>17</sup> As a successor to The Sabbath Sentinel, in

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<sup>14</sup>SDAE, rev. ed., pp. 1264-65.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid.

<sup>16</sup>G. I. B[utler], "Meeting at Bushnell Michigan," RH 61 (January 1, 1884): 18.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid. The following are some pertinent references to The Sabbath Sentinel: "The Sabbath Sentinel has now entered the field . . . to especially call attention . . . to the nature of the Sunday movement now on foot." S. N. Haskell, "Signs of the Times and Sabbath Sentinel," RH 61 (January 8, 1884): 26. The church leaders wanted the paper to get out at the same time with the Cleveland, Ohio, convention of the National Reform Association, according to [Uriah Smith], "The Sabbath Sentinel," RH 61 (January 29, 1884): 64. Adventists distributed 30,000

1886 the denomination launched The American Sentinel.<sup>18</sup> This paper, like its predecessor, had a great impact on the religious liberty effort.

Several years before Senator Blair presented his Sunday Rest Bill, Seventh-day Adventist writers had made significant comments about what they expected. In 1884 T. R. Williamson, in reacting to an article in the Christian Statesman, reported that the NRA intended to take the world by political means. He added that Christ was not up for candidacy for the United States presidency and did not need political assistance to further His kingdom.<sup>19</sup> In the same year, A. T. Jones, who in 1888 would become the denomination's principal spokesman against the Blair bill, also reacted to a Christian Statesman article. Jones said the ten commandments should not become the law of the land, because the rulers of the "Christian government" would decide through the courts how to interpret the law rather than allowing

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copies of The Sabbath Sentinel at the Ohio convention, according to D. H. Lamson, "National Reform and Liberty of Conscience," RH 61 (January 29, 1884): 66. See also, A. J. Cudney, "The Sentinel in Nebraska," RH 61 (February 12, 1884): 112; J. H. Cook, "A Word for The Sabbath Sentinel," RH 61 (February 19, 1884): 112.

<sup>18</sup>The earliest editors of The American Sentinel were J. H. Waggoner (1886-87); E. J. Waggoner and A. T. Jones (1887-90); and A. T. Jones (1890-94, 1896-97). In 1906 Liberty superseded The American Sentinel. The "Sentinel Library" (1889-94) comprised a series of pamphlets on religious liberty issues. In 1894 it was absorbed by the "Religious Liberty Library" (SDAE, p. 1320).

<sup>19</sup>T. R. Williamson, "Is Christ Now a Political Ruler?" RH 61 (March 4, 1884): 148.

the Bible to give its own interpretation.<sup>20</sup> Also in 1884, W. H. Littlejohn, an outstanding Sunday law commentator, expressed his foreboding that once the churches were captured by the NRA, the end would not be far off. At the same time, Littlejohn deplored the fact that Seventh-day Adventists, although they devoted their time, interest, and means to the cause of temperance, would "nevertheless be classed with the frequenters of beer gardens" because such persons and the owners of such businesses also opposed Sunday legislation.<sup>21</sup> In the editorial article of the final issue of The Sabbath Sentinel, reference was made to the "sure" approach of a "religio-political crisis."<sup>22</sup>

In 1885 R. F. Cottrell wrote decisively, stating that the next great political question to be decided would be the religious amendment to enforce Sunday sacredness. Cottrell injected an eschatological understanding by claiming that such an act would be the "culmination and climax" of the great contest between truth and falsehood, and that the individual's choice in relation to the law of God would be final and decisive. He asked, "Who will be on the Lord's side?" and added, "May the Lord help us to believe and obey the truth, and

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<sup>20</sup>Alonzo T. Jones, "How Is the Amendment to Be Carried out Practically," RH 61 (March 25, 1884): 202.

<sup>21</sup>W. H. Littlejohn, "The Come-Out," SS 1 (May 1884): 17.

<sup>22</sup>"To the Reader," SS 1 (December 1884): 45.

so escape the sad fate of those who 'cast away the law of God.' "23

J. H. Waggoner, one of the editors of The American Sentinel, observed in January 1886 that the work of the NRA, now also known as the "Religious Amendment Party," had the ironic habit of disclaiming any interest in a church-state union. Waggoner was sure that this disclaimer was a strategy to hide the real intent of the national reformers. He quoted from the association's "own avowal to procure" an amendment in order to

. . . suitably acknowledge Almighty God as the author of the nation's existence, as the ultimate source of its authority, Jesus Christ as its Ruler, and the Bible as the Supreme guide of its conduct, and thus indicate that this is a Christian nation and place all Christian laws, institutions, and usages, on an undeniable legal basis in the fundamental law of the land. 24

Waggoner argued that their seemingly laudable goals were clandestine and specious--even though he allowed that most of their followers were probably innocent enough.<sup>25</sup>

On November 23, the ninth day of the 1887 Seventh-day Adventist General Conference session, A. T. Jones, as secretary of the select committee that had

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<sup>23</sup>R. F. Cottrell, "The Contest Between Truth and Error," RH 62 (October 20, 1885): 650.

<sup>24</sup>J. H. W[aggoner], "The American Sentinel," AS 1 (January 1886): 1-2, citing Article II of the constitution of the NRA.

<sup>25</sup>Ibid. The NRA exerted a special effort to present a harmless "visage" to the populace.

given study to the NRA, reported that the committee did not wish to present a report "until Sister White [had] spoken on the subject." Ellen White said that she was not ready to address the issue at length, but did remark that the iniquity of the NRA was of the "character of Satan whose warfare has ever been against the law of God."<sup>26</sup>

The following year, at one of the most important sessions in Seventh-day Adventist history (the 1888 General Conference session), A. T. Jones presented a series of addresses on religious liberty which were later published as Civil Government and Religion. The Blair Sunday Rest Bill, the arraignments in Arkansas, and related issues were addressed.<sup>27</sup>

Jones hoped that his presentations would arouse interest in the United States Constitution and the relationship "that should exist between civil government and religion."<sup>28</sup>

Jones underscored the line which in the Bible separates men's allegiance to God from their allegiance to men (civil government): "Render therefore unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's; and unto God the things

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<sup>26</sup>"9th Day's Proceedings," GCB, November 23, 1887, p. 2.

<sup>27</sup>Alonzo T. Jones, Civil Government and Religion, or Christianity and the American Constitution (Oakland, California: American Sentinel, 1889), p. 3.

<sup>28</sup>Ibid.

that are God's" (Matt 22:17-21).<sup>29</sup> He commented:

The United States is the first and only government in history that is based on the principle established by Christ. . . . By an amendment making more sure the adoption of the principle, it declares in the first amendment to the Constitution, "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the the free exercise thereof." This first amendment was adopted in 1789, by the first Congress that ever met under the Constitution.<sup>30</sup>

Clearly, forcibly, and without apology Jones enunciated the principle of the separation of church and state. In spite of the pacific "assurances" of the national reformers, he insisted that the Blair bills had the potential of reviving the papal persecutions of the fourth century. Jones reminded his audience of the arraignments against Seventh-day Adventists in Arkansas during the mid 1880s. He presented summaries of twenty-one court cases of church members who were convicted for "Sabbath-breaking" (i.e., Sunday-breaking). The indictments resulted from violating the Arkansas Sunday law of 1885.<sup>31</sup> Jones stated:

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<sup>29</sup>Ibid., pp. 14-42. Jones linked Christ's words in Matt 22:17-21 with Paul's words in Rom 13:1-9 that refer to "the powers that be are ordained of God." He then developed a thesis to show that the jurisdiction of the earthly "powers" does not go over into the religious area.

<sup>30</sup>Ibid., pp. 24, 25.

<sup>31</sup>Ibid., pp. 65-77; 112-50. Jones also assigned Appendix "A" (pp. 151-55) to present additional material on the Arkansas Sunday law. A sample of statements of "prominent citizens of Arkansas, who are not observers of the seventh day," and who noted the unconstitutional nature of the law, make up this appendix. Discrimination against seventh-day Sabbath-keepers was evident.



We have shown by the literature and the logic of this whole Sunday-law question, that if the movement should succeed, it would be but the establishment of a religious despotism in this country. We have shown by their own statements that the principles held by the National Reformers are essentially papal, and that in the carrying out of these principles, they deliberately make propositions that betray the spirit of the Inquisition. . . . We have some facts which show that such is the only effect of the kind of Sunday laws these people demand, as embodied in the Blair Sunday bill.<sup>32</sup>

Jones devoted an entire chapter to the papacy entitled, "Fourth and Nineteenth Century Sunday Laws," in Civil Government and Religion. In that chapter, he presented an analogy of the "religio-political Sunday-law movement of our day . . . with that of the fourth century."<sup>33</sup>

The theory is the same; the means and the arguments are the same in both; and two things that are so precisely alike in the making, will be exactly alike when they are made. That in the fourth century made the papacy; and this in the nineteenth century will make a living likeness of the papacy.<sup>34</sup>

At this point in his presentations, Jones stood on the territory that fuelled his tireless passion for religious liberty affairs--Seventh-day Adventist eschatology. Intrinsically, his intense interest in religious liberty--a subject that embodies history, theology, and constitutional law--was not merely for intellectual exercise. The matter that really attracted his unswerving

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<sup>32</sup>Ibid., p. 111.

<sup>33</sup>Ibid., p. 109.

<sup>34</sup>Ibid.

solicitude was eschatology. Jones realized that state and national Sunday legislation would infringe on the individual's religious liberties. He concluded that the prophecy on the mark and the image of the beast (to be worked out to a large extent through Sunday legislation) was poised for fulfillment. He also believed that this prophecy in Rev 13 outlined the crises that seventh-day Sabbath-keepers will experience just before the second coming of Christ. Religious liberty, therefore, was simply vehicular to Jones's eschatological teachings.

The year 1888 also witnessed the most public and dynamic opposition to Sunday laws, up to that time, from Seventh-day Adventists. Again, it was A. T. Jones on the stage of action. He performed the roles of spokesman, advocate, and debator before the Committee on Education and Labor of the United States Senate on Thursday, December 13, 1888, during the second session of the fiftieth Congress. The occasion was the hearing on the Blair Sunday Rest Bill.<sup>35</sup> Jones drew upon church history, theology, logic, and fragments of constitutional law to forge his argument. His diversified expertise, added to the fact that he was naturally a gifted and abrasive speaker, made him a formidable opponent. He later reproduced the entire argument in refined form in

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<sup>35</sup>U.S. Congress, Senate, Committee on Education and Labor, Sunday Rest Bill. S. Doc. 43, 50th Cong., 2d sess., 1888, Senate Miscellaneous Documents 3:73-102.

his booklet entitled the National Sunday Law.<sup>36</sup> In opposition to the Sunday law proponents, Jones argued that even though God still oversees His creation, His jurisdiction in a theocratic form ceased with the disaffection of Israel. The chairman of the committee, Senator H. W. Blair, seemed to have bristled with confidence for a moment, thinking that he had cornered Jones on the idea of a "theocracy." The following sample gives a feel of the intriguing nature of the debate.

Mr. JONES. The church and the state were one.

The CHAIRMAN. Therefore what we call the civil administration was included in that theocracy.

Mr. JONES. The church and the state were one; they were united, and it was a theocracy.

The CHAIRMAN. If the administration of the Sabbath, during those 3,000 years at least, was for the good of the Jews and the human race, why will not the Sabbath be good for the Jews and the human race since the time of Christ as well as before.

Mr. JONES. It is for the good of them.

The CHAIRMAN. The civil law must administer it if power does. Then we will get no Sabbath now, under our division of powers of government, unless we have the Sabbath recognized and enforced by the State authority?

Mr. JONES. Certainly; we have a Sabbath.

The CHAIRMAN. Your proposition is to strike out the Sabbath from the constitution and condition of society in these modern times.

Mr. JONES. No, Sir.

The CHAIRMAN. Certainly, so far as its existence and enactment and enforcement by law is concerned.

Mr. JONES. Yes, by civil law.

The CHAIRMAN. It was enforced by what we call the civil conduct of men under that theocratic form of government for at least three thousand years.

Mr. JONES. Certainly.

The CHAIRMAN. Now the observance of the Sabbath . . . depends upon the compulsory observance of law.

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<sup>36</sup>Alonzo T. Jones, The National Sunday Law (Chicago, Ill.: American Sentinel, 1889).

Mr. JONES. Not at all.

The CHAIRMAN. It required the law of God, which He enforced by death, by stoning men to death when they violated it, and we have the sabbath day only by virtue of what we call the civil law, which is equally a part of God's law.

Mr. JONES. That government was not organized to enforce the Sabbath.

The CHAIRMAN. They stoned men to death who violated the law.

Mr. JONES. Certainly, and every other transgression.<sup>37</sup>

At this point Chairman Blair must have believed that Jones's argument was deflated. The debate continued:

The CHAIRMAN. God enforced it, in other words, by human means.

Mr. JONES. Certainly. My answer to all that is that that was a theocracy, a union of church and state. The church was the state and the state was the church.

The CHAIRMAN. You say now there is no state to enforce it?<sup>38</sup>

Jones clinched his point with the following reasoning:

Mr. JONES. I say that no government can enforce the Sabbath or those things which pertain to God except a theocratic government, a union of church and state. Therefore I say that if you establish such a law as is proposed here you lead directly to a union of church and state. The logic of the question demands it, and that is where it will end, because the law can not be enforced otherwise. These gentlemen say they do not want a union of church and state. What they mean by church and state is for the state to select one particular denomination and make it the favorite above all the denominations. That is a union of church and state according to their idea; but a union of church and state was formed by Constantine when he recognized Christianity as the religion of the Roman Empire. Everybody knows that that was a union of church and state, and that it ended in the Papacy. The union of church and state

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<sup>37</sup>U. S., Congress, Senate, Committee on Education and Labor, Sunday Rest Bill. S. Doc. 43, 50th Cong., 2d sess., 1888, Senate Miscellaneous Documents 3:90.

<sup>38</sup>Ibid.

is for the ecclestical to control the civil power and use the civil power in its own interest. That is where this movement will end, and that is one of the reasons why we oppose it.<sup>39</sup>

Jones was anxious to point out that the legislating of religious laws under the guise of maintaining the theocracy was unbiblical. There was no excuse, therefore, for the NRA and its confederates to seek a constitutional amendment purporting that they were under a mandate to "help" God to reestablish His government. The contribution of Seventh-day Adventists to the opposition helped to prevent passage of the bill. The denomination expressed its understanding of these events in eschatological terms, as for example, their view of Rev 13.

The Mark and the Image of the Beast in  
Seventh-day Adventist Eschatology  
1884-1888

Early Seventh-day Adventist interpretation of Rev 13 convinced the denomination that Sunday legislation would be enforced before the second coming of Christ. It placed Rev 13, therefore, into a central position in their eschatology.<sup>40</sup> The chapter presents two prophetic

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<sup>39</sup>Ibid., 3:90, 91.

<sup>40</sup>Some early Adventist authors devoted much attention to this subject. See Uriah Smith, The United States in the Light of Prophecy: An Exposition of Revelation XIII, 11-17 (Battle Creek, Mich.: Steam Press of the Seventh-day Adventist Publishing Association, 1876), pp. 123-200; J. N. Andrews, Three Messages of Revelation 14, 6-12, Particularly the Third Angel's Message, and the Two-Horned Beast (Battle Creek, Mich.: Review and Herald Publishing Co., 1877), pp. 73-114 (first appeared

powers. According to Seventh-day Adventist interpretation, the first symbolizes the papacy, and the second, the United States of America. Seventh-day Adventists connected the observance of Sunday, "the counterfeit Sabbath," with the mark of the first beast.<sup>41</sup> "It became clear to early Seventh-day Adventists that the book of Revelation speaks of two opposite insignia that people will receive into their minds before the close of probation, 'the mark of the beast' and the 'seal of God.'"<sup>42</sup> The denomination interpreted the Sunday legislation movement as a major aspect of the fulfillment of the prophecy of Revelation. As Eric Syme has expressed,

Seventh-day Adventists, recognizing the growing scope of the National Reform movement, began to wonder if it constituted the beginning of that repressive religious union anticipated by their eschatology. They disputed the assumption of National Reform writers that strict Sunday observance was fundamental to the nation's morality and asserted that this contention was being used as an excuse to make Sunday violation a criminal act. . . . Commenting on this, Review editor, Uriah Smith, asserted that National Reform agitation for a religious amendment

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as an "n.d." pamphlet around the 1860s); Uriah Smith, Thoughts Critical and Practical on the Books of Daniel and the Revelation (Battle Creek, Mich.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1885), pp. 685-98. Froom highlighted the importance of the subject to Seventh-day Adventists, stating that "this, more than any other chapter in the Revelation, was the subject of special study and emphasis by the Adventists" (Prophetic Faith of Our Fathers, 4:1127).

<sup>41</sup>See pp. 86-89 of this study for a fuller discussion on this topic.

<sup>42</sup>Maxwell, Tell It, pp. 92, 93.

to the Constitution actually masked the Association real intent--to enforce Sunday observance.<sup>43</sup>

Syme said in the above that "Seventh-day Adventists began to wonder." It was more than wondering. Actually, they were certain that happenings pointed to fulfillment of the prophetic word. R. F. Cottrell wrote at the time that events were pointing to the "culmination and climax of the great contest between truth and falsehood."<sup>44</sup>

In the same year, A. T. Jones pointed out that even though Protestants were working for a constitutional amendment, that did not mean that the "papacy" would not utilize the benefits gained by the Protestants. Jones discussed the mark of the beast and the revival of the persecuting power according to Rev 13:11-18, and then observed that "everything is fairly rushing toward the accomplishment of an amendment to the United States Constitution, expressly for the enforcement of the observance of Sunday."<sup>45</sup> But all this, Jones further noted, would take place "just before the coming of the Lord" which was imminent, and this activity would continue up to the very time when the "saints possess the kingdom." He stated categorically that "the Sunday institution is

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<sup>43</sup>Syme, Church State Relationships, p. 22.

<sup>44</sup>R. F. Cottrell, "The Contest Between Truth and Error," RH 62 (October 20, 1885): 650.

<sup>45</sup>A. T. Jones, "Daniel 7:21, 22," RH 61 (January 22, 1884): 49-50. See also, E. J. Waggoner, "Is a State Religion Contemplated?" ST 10 (October 2, 1884): 585-86.

the mark of the beast."<sup>46</sup> Seventh-day Adventist commentators displayed no inhibitions in expressing this point of view.

W. H. Littlejohn wrote extensively for the Review and other Adventist publications on the mark of the beast, Sunday legislation, and Seventh-day Adventist eschatology during the middle 1880s. He was the author of The Coming Conflict (1883). In a five-part series on "The Beast and His Mark," he highlighted the uniqueness of Seventh-day Adventists,

who as believers in the near coming of Christ . . . are the only denomination in the world who apply the prophecy of the two-horned Beast to the United States, teaching distinctly that the mark of the beast is the Sunday-Sabbath institution, and that the time is near at hand when the observance of the latter will bring upon the individuals doing so the unmixed wrath of God as manifested in the seven last plagues. Rev. 14:9-11.<sup>47</sup>

During this period, Littlejohn and other writers alluded often to Rev 14:12 concerning John's reference to those "that keep the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus." The point of import was the "commandments of God." In the fifth and final installment of his series, Littlejohn's logic was that the commandments (the fourth

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<sup>46</sup>Ibid.

<sup>47</sup>W. H. Littlejohn, "The Beast and His Mark," RH 61 (May 27, 1884): 346. In another article, "The Mark of the Beast," RH 61 (May 20, 1884): 329-30, Littlejohn differentiated between the mark on the "forehead" and that on the "hand." Those who accepted the mark "intelligently," or by choice, would receive it on the forehead. Those who might receive the mark in ignorance of its true character would receive it on the hand.



in particular, which embodies the Sabbath) could test the world's ultimate obligation to God.<sup>48</sup> He did not comment on the last part of Rev 14:12--"the faith of Jesus"--which would receive great emphasis after 1888.

Ellen White's prolific pen also treated the mark-of-the-beast theology. Prior to her 1888 edition of The Great Controversy in which she devoted much attention to the subject, she made the following assertion in 1885:

When Protestantism shall stretch her hand across the gulf to grasp the hand of the Roman power, when she shall reach over the abyss to clasp hands with spiritualism, when, under the influence of this threefold union, our country shall repudiate every principle of its Constitution as a Protestant and republican government, and shall make provision for the propagation of papal falsehoods and delusions, then we may know that the time has come for the marvelous working of Satan and that the end is near.<sup>49</sup>

The candid indications that the prophecy of Rev 13 was being fulfilled bolstered the belief of Seventh-day Adventists concerning the realness of "the end." Ellen White's use of the perfect tense in the words "then we may know that the time has come" underscored a note of both certainty and finality regarding her eschatological beliefs.

D. M. Canright's subsequent, apostate status in Adventism should not cause us to leave out his views on

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<sup>48</sup>Idem, "The Beast and His Mark," RH 61 (June 3, 1884):362. The author quoted Matt 5:17-19, which says in part: "Whosoever, therefore, shall break one of these commandments, and shall teach men so, he shall be called least in the kingdom of heaven."

<sup>49</sup>Ellen G. White, Testimonies, 5:451.

the mark-of-the-beast theology in the 1880s.<sup>50</sup> With an unambiguous approach, he said that the warning against the worship of the beast and the reception of his mark was "the most fearful message in all the Bible." It was a "last days" message, consistent with the angel's announcement that the time had come to reap the harvest of the earth. "The events immediately connected with the second advent," he declared, "all cluster around the message warning against the mark" of the beast.<sup>51</sup>

The leaders and writers of the denomination continued to sound the alert in 1886. The expectation was that it would not be long before Sunday legislation would be passed to make a reality of "the likeness of the beast" and the union of church and state.<sup>52</sup> That was seen by the "people of God" as one of the final acts that would be perpetrated by the crusaders for Sunday legislation. The emphasis of Seventh-day Adventist writers during the 1880s was on the idea of a climax. The activities of the NRA, the Blair bills, and the exchange of the "lamb-like" temperament by Protestant America for a dominant and forceful stance, convinced the denomination

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<sup>50</sup>Canright severed his connection with the church in 1887 over doctrinal differences. In 1889 he published Seventh Day Adventism Renounced--a book that has lent poisonous support to the enemies of the denomination.

<sup>51</sup>D. M. Canright, "The Mark of the Beast," RH 62 (June 30, 1885): 410-11.

<sup>52</sup>E. J. Waggoner, "Encyclical Letter of Pope Pius XIII," ST 12 (January 14, 1886): 24-25.

that the end was near. Haskell verbalized the general feeling when he pointed out that

in the closing of the work, persecution also will come upon the people of God. 'And he causeth all . . . to receive a mark in their right hand, or in their foreheads.' This will be among the last acts in the experience of the people of God. As we approach this time, we shall see scenes taking place around us that will clearly indicate that the end is approaching.<sup>53</sup>

Ironically, on the verge of increased agitation in 1888 due to the Blair bills, there was a decline of written matter on the mark of the beast in denominational periodicals during 1887. (The American Sentinel, however, published profusely on the Sunday-legislation debate.) In spite of this leanness just prior to 1888, it was clear (1) that there was no change to the views on the mark of the beast; (2) that the world had "certainly [come to] its last days; and [3] that the wrath of God [was] about to be poured out upon the beast and his image."<sup>54</sup>

In 1888 Ellen White's Great Controversy addressed the whole gamut of Seventh-day Adventist eschatology.<sup>55</sup>

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<sup>53</sup>[S. N.] H[askell], "Signs of the End," ST 12 (October 7, 1886): 616; J[ones], "The Third Angel's Message," ST 12 (November 4, 1886): 662-63; J. G. Matteson, "The Reign of the Saints with Christ During the Thousand Years," RH 63 (June 15, 1886): 376-77.

<sup>54</sup>A. Smith, "Last-Day Tokens," RH 64 (November 1, 1887): 674.

<sup>55</sup>Ellen G. White, The Great Controversy Between Christ and Satan (Battle Creek, Mich.: Review and Herald Publishing Company, 1888).

In addition to Ellen White's work of 1888, several articles were written that year on the mark and the

An amplification of the Spirit of Prophecy, vol. 4 (1884), the book traces the conflict "between Christ and Satan" from the destruction of Jerusalem to the late 1880s. It also forecasts the closing events of this world's existence, the second coming of Christ, the millennium, and the new earth. Within its mammoth historical sweep, the book reflects the late 1880s. "The Protestants of the United States," Ellen White asserted, ". . . will reach over the abyss to clasp hands with the Roman power." The 1888 Great Controversy also noted that "this country will follow in the steps of Rome in trampling the rights of conscience."<sup>56</sup> Ellen White articulated the standard theological understanding of the denomination on the mark of the beast.<sup>57</sup> Additionally,

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image of the beast. A sample includes the following: A. T. Jones, "A Dangerous Parallel," AS 3 (March 1888): 20-21; idem, "That Sunday Commandment," AS 3 (August 1888): 62-63; J. O. C[orliss], "A Significant Step," RH 65 (August 21, 1888): 544; A. Smith, "The Image of the Beast," RH 65 (September 11, 1888): 579-81.

<sup>56</sup>Ellen G. White, Great Controversy (1888), pp. 563-652, reflect Sunday legislation and cognate issues.

<sup>57</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 578-79. Ellen White treated the behavior of the second beast of Rev 13:11-16. She stood with standard Adventist interpretation regarding this beast, noting that it would force people "to worship the papacy." She identified the beast in the prophecy: "It has been shown," stated Ellen White, "that the United States is the power represented by the beast with lamb-like horns." She observed that the prophecy would be fulfilled upon the enforcement of Sunday worship by the United States. That enforcement would veritably be the wish of Rome (the papacy). By that act, declared Ellen White, the United States (represented by the second beast of Rev 13) would make an image to the papacy (represented by the first beast of Rev 13).

she expounded on the deceptive miracle-working power of spiritualism. She was concerned that communications from the spirits would declare that God had sent them to convince the rejecters of Sunday of their error, and would support the testimony of religious teachers that the decadent condition of the society resulted from Sunday desecration.<sup>58</sup>

The faithfulness of God's people would exacerbate the already indignant promoters of a false day of worship, which was perceived by Seventh-day Adventists as the mark of the beast. On the other hand, Ellen White's message with reference to "Satan's policy in this final conflict" underscored hope, assurance, and final victory when God would deliver His people at the second advent.<sup>59</sup> Beyond doubt, developments in the area of Sunday legislation during the 1880s sharpened the focus of the denomination's belief in the imminence of the end and its unswerving hold on biblical, prophetic interpretation.

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<sup>58</sup>Ibid., p. 591.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid., pp. 635-52. Here Ellen White depicts in very graphic language the advent of Christ, when He, the "King of kings descends upon the cloud, wrapped in flaming fire." At His coming, she said, the physical appearance of God's waiting people would reflect Christ's glory. As a result, their countenances would be lighted up with His glory "and shine as did the face of Moses when he came down from Sinai." There will be "a mighty shout of victory" when God announces His approbation for "those who have honored God by keeping His Sabbath holy." This will be the time, White reflected, when a radical change will come to Christ's followers--change from an unpopular, hounded, and persecuted people to become inhabitants of a literal, glorious kingdom.

The Sabbath and Seventh-day Adventist  
Eschatology, 1884-1888

P. Gerard Damsteegt has attested that "the acceptance of the Sabbath also implied the acceptance of the eschatology of Rev. 14: 9-12."<sup>60</sup> In considering the reaction of the denomination to Sunday legislation, therefore, the Sabbath became an automatic corollary. Convinced of the importance of the Sabbath, writers of the denomination gave it a central position among the eschatological subjects of Rev 14. While concerned with the judgment (vss 6, 7) and the coming of Christ (v 14), Littlejohn also noted that the last church would be locked in conflict with the papacy (vss 9, 12). He believed that that conflict "relates to the commandments of God," the Sabbath being the core of that encounter. That idea placed the Sabbath in a prominent position in Seventh-day Adventist eschatology.<sup>61</sup> Thinking along the same vein as Littlejohn, Smith placed the Sabbath in the vanguard of a reform to prepare people in "this

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<sup>60</sup>Damsteegt, Foundations, p. 241.

<sup>61</sup>W. H. Littlejohn, "The Beast and His Mark," RH 61 (June 3, 1884): 362. In another article, E. Lanphear expressed a similar view to Littlejohn's in "The Signs of the Times," RH 61 (May 20, 1884): 323. Lanphear placed the Sabbath "to the front" regarding the conflict the church must face. Further, in an editorial entitled "The Third Angel's Message: The Purpose of the Sabbath in the Message," the author claimed that the "Sabbath is one above every point that distinguishes the worshippers of Him that made heaven and earth from the worshippers of the beast and his image." ST 14 (August 24, 1888): 522-23.

generation" (the 1880s) for the coming of Christ.<sup>62</sup>

While the Sabbath had always been a significant doctrine for Seventh-day Adventists, the 1884 through 1888 religio-social context developed intense reflection concerning the fourth commandment. The extent that the efforts toward Sunday legislation reached during this period magnified the eschatological appreciation of the denomination for the Sabbath. In 1886 O. A. Johnson affirmed that the command to keep the Sabbath reached into the new world to come. None would enter the city of God unless they kept the Sabbath.<sup>63</sup>

Sabbath reform as it relates to restoration was not a new concept for Seventh-day Adventists,<sup>64</sup> but during this period they invested the doctrine with a new prominence as it stood within the constellation of eschatological subjects of Rev 14. In 1888 Cottrell affirmed that Isa 56 was very clear in regard to Sabbath reform in the "last days," when God's "salvation is near to come" (vs 1). God's people would not be abandoned.

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<sup>62</sup>[Uriah Smith], "Shall We Keep Sabbath or Sunday?" RH 62 (June 9, 1885): 360. See also [Uriah Smith] "A Refuge of Lies," RH 63 (February 2, 1886): 72, where the author has stated that "prophecy points out a widespread Sabbath reform in the last days." Finally, God will "demolish every structure which error has reared and sweep away every refuge of lies."

<sup>63</sup>O. A. Johnson, "Are All Nations Commanded to Keep the Sabbath?" RH 63 (January 12, 1886): 20.

<sup>64</sup>See pp. 81-86 in this study for the Sabbatarian Adventist view of the Sabbath from a reform and restoration focus.

The "elect" are "kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation ready to be revealed in the last time" (1 Pet 1:5). He linked several points together: "salvation" referred to the second coming of Christ; to escape the dreadful annihilation threatened by the seven last plagues, shelter was assured through obedience; therefore, "blessed is the man . . . that keepeth the Sabbath from polluting it" (Isa 56: 2). Cottrell called the Sabbath the "last message" that would be preached before the second advent of Christ.<sup>65</sup>

Ellen White declared in 1888 that "the truths presented in Revelation 14 . . . [are] to prepare the inhabitants of the earth for the Lord's coming." Significantly, she viewed the Sabbath (which is embodied in Rev 14:12) as being central to "the work of reform to be accomplished in the last days."<sup>66</sup>

Seventh-day Adventists of the 1880s, like the Sabbatarian Adventists before them, held the Sabbath in a distinctive doctrinal position. For them, it was more than just their acquiescing to central authority with respect to God and the fourth commandment law. They viewed the Sabbath as a last-day message that needed to be heralded before the eschaton.

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<sup>65</sup>R. F. Cottrell, "The Restoration of the Sabbath," ST 14 (October 19, 1888): 628-29.

<sup>66</sup>White, The Great Controversy (1888), pp. 435, 479.



The Third Angel's Message and Seventh-day  
Adventist Eschatology, 1884-1888

The casual reader could arrive at the conclusion that this section on the third angel's message, if not superfluous, is repetitious because a discussion on the mark and image of the beast precedes it. The mark and image of the beast, however, is only a part of the in toto third angel's message, which is a positive message for Seventh-day Adventists since its climax brings deliverance and victory. Note Rev 14:14: "And I looked, and behold a white cloud, and upon the cloud one sat like the son of man, having on his head a golden crown, and in his hand a sharp sickle." The preceding mixed metaphor introduces a kingly figure ready to gather His subjects.

In 1884, as the tide of opposition from the NRA rose, Smith, in referring to the "agitation that is now being raised" for a constitutional amendment, manifested profound confidence in the finality of the third angel's message. For him it was "the last work of mercy to be accomplished, before the coming of Christ."<sup>67</sup>

A. T. Jones, in the wake of the challenge posed by the national reformers not only performed the role of chief spokesman before the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, he also contributed to the development of the denomination's theology. In the period from 1884 to 1888,

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<sup>67</sup>[Uriah] S[mith], "A Plain Fact," ST 10 (April 10, 1884): 233.

while Jones stood with his contemporaries on the basic Adventist tradition regarding the third angel's message, he attempted to put some additional meaning into it.

In 1886 Jones wrote a series for the Signs of the Times entitled "The Third Angel's Message." He observed that in Revelation 14 the coming of the Lord followed the message of the third angel, and that the details relative to that coming "represent events referred to as occurrent when the seventh angel shall sound."<sup>68</sup> (Here he was thinking of the sounding of the seventh trumpet, Rev 11:15, which is the same as the third woe. Rev 8:13 introduces the three woes that correspond to the work of the last three of the seven angels sounding the trumpets.) With this background, Jones brought together Rev 10:7 ("But in the days of the voice of the seventh angel when he shall begin to sound, the mystery of God should be finished,") with Eph 3:3 ("How that by revelation he made known unto me the mystery,") and Gal 1:11, 12 ("But I certify you, brethren, that the gospel which was preached of me is not after man. For I neither was taught, but by the revelation of Jesus Christ"). Jones strongly urged that the mystery of God is the gospel. "The third angel's message is embodied in the everlasting

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<sup>68</sup>[A. T.] J[ones], "The Time of the Third Angel's Message," ST 12 (September 13, 1886): 583-84. Jones would follow up this theme later by presenting a series of twenty-four lectures on the "third angel's message" at the 1893 General Conference session.

gospel."<sup>69</sup> Jones's exposition underscored the concept of "the end," a passionate eschatological concern. "It is plain," he asserted, "that the events connected with the Third Angel's Message [terminate] with the end of the world."<sup>70</sup>

This idea relative to the mystery of God and the third angel's message continued to interest Jones. Almost two years after his 1886 series, he published an article in the Signs that followed the identical line of thought. Maintaining the same thrust in his eschatology, he stated that this mystery or gospel--the power of God unto salvation (Rom 1:7)--"should be finished" at the sounding of the seventh angel. In other words, the message of the third angel that warned against worshipping the beast and his image and the receiving of his mark (Sunday worship), would be merged with the sound of the seventh angel that would announce that "the mystery

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<sup>69</sup>Idem, "The Third Angel's Message," ST 12 (November 4, 1886): 662-63.

<sup>70</sup>Idem, "The Third Angel's Message," ST 12 (September 13, 1886): 583-84. Earlier in the history of the church, James White also had spoken about the mystery of God in relationship to the third angel's message. In 1856 White identified the "closing work of the gospel of Jesus Christ" through the "last message of mercy" with the "finishing of the mystery of God." White, however, took a different slant from that of Jones. White suggested that there was a close relationship between the gospel and the "mystery of Christ in the heavenly sanctuary." See James White, "The Mystery of God," RH (March 27, 1856): 204-205. For treatment of White's thought, see Damsteegt, Foundations, 216-17.

God should be finished." The Apostle John captured these climactic activities:

And the seventh angel sounded; and there were great voices in heaven, saying, The kingdoms of this world are become the kingdoms of our Lord, and his Christ; and he shall reign forever and forever.<sup>71</sup>

The writings of Adventist thought leaders during the 1880s exhibit a generally basic consonance in viewing the third angel's message (in part, a message of warning to the "world") as a message of hope and deliverance for the believer. Seventh-day Adventist apologetics, with regard to the third angel's message as it reacted to the mark of the beast apostasy, Sunday legislation, and the constitutional amendment furor that plagued this period, bristled with eschatological verities. The "loud cry" and the "latter rain" (subjects characteristic of denominational eschatology) are examined below.

#### The Loud Cry and the Latter Rain, 1884-1888

The position held by the early Sabbatarian Adventists concerning the "loud cry" and the "latter rain" remained basically unaltered among the Seventh-day Adventists of the late nineteenth century.<sup>72</sup> During the immediate post-disappointment years, they had perceived a typological relationship between the midnight cry and the second angel's message, and the loud cry and the third

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<sup>71</sup>Rev 11:15.

<sup>72</sup>See p. 74 above.

angel's message.<sup>73</sup> The movement under the loud cry of the third angel, however, would far exceed the earlier message under the symbol of the second angel.<sup>74</sup> Within the crusading context for Sunday legislation, the loud cry and latter rain theology assumed new significance for the denomination. As Ellen White put it in treating this subject in her Early Writings, "The people of God are thus prepared to stand in the hour of temptation, which they are soon to meet."<sup>75</sup>

Again, prior to the 1880s, in addition to the potential of the loud cry to prepare the "people of God . . . to stand in the hour of temptation," the Sabbatarian Adventists also believed that the loud cry would invest them with a missiological dynamism. In pursuing the thought of this symbolism, Ellen White said that she saw another mighty angel "commissioned to descend to the earth to unite his voice with the third angel, and give power and force to his message." She noted that the amalgamation of the work of the "mighty angel" with that of the third angel synchronized appropriately to swell into a loud cry proclaimed by the people of God.<sup>76</sup> She saw that the accelerated force of their witness accrued

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<sup>73</sup>Ellen White, Early Writings, pp. 277-79; idem, Spiritual Gifts, 4:194-95.

<sup>74</sup>Idem, Great Controversy (1888), pp. 611, 612.

<sup>75</sup>Idem, Early Writings, p. 277.

<sup>76</sup>Ibid.

from the ministry of the Holy Spirit, as the latter rain.

The glory of God rested upon the patient, waiting saints, and they fearlessly gave the last solemn warning . . . The light that was shed upon the waiting ones penetrated everywhere, and those in the churches who had any light who had not heard and rejected the three messages, obeyed the call, and left the fallen churches.<sup>77</sup>

In 1888 Ellen White repeated the idea that latter rain and loud cry would have a dynamic influence upon the members of the denomination. She stated that "servants of God with their faces lighted up and shining with holy consecration, will hasten from place to place to proclaim the message." She visualized this missiological thrust as a global affair, for by "thousands of voices all over the earth, the warning will be given."<sup>78</sup>

Consistent with the prevailing context regarding the complexities emanating from the efforts to gain passage of Sunday legislation in 1888, Ellen White commented on the prophetic function of the "loud cry" message. She wrote in The Great Controversy:

This scripture [Rev. 18:1-4] points forward to a time when the announcement of the fall of Babylon, as made by the second angel of Revelation 14, is to be repeated, with the additional mention of the corruptions which have been entering the various organizations that constitute Babylon since the message was first given in the summer of 1844. A terrible condition of the religious world is here described. . . . In defiance of the warnings which God has given, they will continue to trample upon one of the precepts of the decalogue, until they are led

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<sup>77</sup>Ibid., p. 277, 278.

<sup>78</sup>Idem, Great Controversy (1888), p. 612.

to persecute those who hold it sacred.<sup>79</sup>

In her 1888 Great Controversy, published at the zenith of the Sunday law excitement of 1888, Ellen White brought together a list of themes that were connected to the eschatological thinking of Seventh-day Adventists of the 1880s. In addition to the loud cry and the outpouring of the latter rain, her thematic/theological emphases included the "Sabbath, . . . [as] the great test of loyalty"; the "mark of the beast, . . . [as] the sign of allegiance to the power which [man] chooses to obey instead of [obeying] God"; the unity of "papists and Protestants . . . for Sunday enforcement"; the persecution of the "defenders of truth [who] refuse to honor the Sunday-Sabbath"; and the "wrath of God which is poured out without mixture" against the disobedient.<sup>80</sup> While human beings generally are appreciative of God's mercy, they usually decry His justice. Ellen White, as if to "absolve" God from a human indictment of paranoia, or of possessing a relish for the destruction of humans, presented a balanced situation. The purpose of the loud cry, she emphasized, would be overtly evangelistic--a warning as well as an invitation to all persons to accept God's offerings.<sup>81</sup> This combined warning and invitation would be in preparation for the grand finale--the

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<sup>79</sup>Ibid., p. 603.

<sup>80</sup>Ibid., pp. 603-612.

<sup>81</sup>Ibid., pp. 610-11.

fulfillment of the believer's eschatological hopes--when

the voice of God is heard in Heaven, declaring the day and hour of Jesus' coming, and delivering the everlasting covenant to his people.

The King of kings descends upon the clouds, wrapped in flaming fire. The heavens are rolled together as a scroll, the earth trembles before him. . . .<sup>82</sup>

When the denominational leaders reemphasized and refurbished the traditional theological positions in response to the growing Sunday law agitation between 1884 and 1888, important concepts developed out of these positions in the context of current events. The influence of these developing concepts in the shaping of the eschatology of the denomination is central to this study.

The Significant Impact of Sunday Legislation and  
Related Issues on the Development of Seventh-  
day Adventist Eschatology, 1884-1888

A significant development in Seventh-day Adventist eschatology during the 1884-1888 period was the link that was struck between the third angel's message and righteousness by faith. It was observed that the major percentage of the Adventist literature from 1884-1888 on the third angel's message dealt with the mark and image of the beast. This gave prominence to the issues of obedience and disobedience to the commandments of God, but it left virtually untouched the message concerning "the faith of Jesus," which received only textual mention. A noted change began to appear in the

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<sup>82</sup>Ibid., pp. 640-41.



literature of the church before the 1888 session.

In March 1888, for example, A. T. Jones said that the third angel's message was a part of the Reformation message.<sup>83</sup> Of all the concerns of the sixteenth-century Reformation, righteousness by faith was paramount. Jones remarked that there was a historical, a logical, and a theological necessity for the third angel's message to complete the work of the Reformation.<sup>84</sup> In essence, amidst the awful aspects of the third angel's message, it was supposed to be a Christocentric message, embodying hope and deliverance, pointing the way to salvation through Jesus Christ.

M. C. Wilcox went further in breaking new ground. In August 1888 he asked rhetorically, "Who are the commandment keepers?" In supplying the answer to his own question, Wilcox advanced the thought that the commandment keepers kept the faith of Jesus. He postulated further by stating that this faith must include all that could be included in the word faith, "for it is unlimited." It must include "the ordinances of the Gospel and faith in all its provisions for man's salvation." Wilcox exclaimed that the "everlasting gospel" (Rev 14:6) had both the pardon and the "power of God unto Salvation."<sup>85</sup>

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<sup>83</sup>[A. T.] J[ones], "Historical Necessity of the Third Angel's Message," ST (March 1888): 134-35.

<sup>84</sup>Ibid.

<sup>85</sup>[M. C.] W[ilcox], "A Characteristic of the

In October 1888, R. F. Cottrell, tired of the eccentricities of the national reformers, definitely yearned for the second coming of Christ. He avowed that God's closing message, etched in prophecy, forbade the worship of the beast and the receipt of his mark under penalty of God's wrath. The message, he said, would arouse the true and loyal, restoring to them the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus. Duplicating Jones, Cottrell conceded that the third angel's message of Rev 14 was the closing work of God, "the finishing of the work of the Reformation, and then the next event will be the coming of the Son of Man."<sup>86</sup>

These insights were harbingers of a later full-blown theology of righteousness by faith in Jesus Christ that would be intimately connected with the teachings on the mark and the image of the beast. Seventh-day Adventists, toward the end of the nineteenth century, expanded their theological horizons. They did not give up the Sabbatarian Adventist doctrinal orthodoxy concerning the law, but they launched out into a fuller understanding of the relationship between the law and the gospel that blossomed forth into a righteousness-by-faith theological position.

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Remnant Church," ST 14 (August 31, 1888): 530-31.

<sup>86</sup>R. F. Cottrell, "The Restoration of the Sabbath," ST 14 (October 19, 1888): 628-29.

The crucial connection between the concepts of law and gospel, law and grace, works and faith, and so on, grew in the church's understanding.

It is a concerned admission that the denomination took over forty years to acknowledge the pertinent place that "the faith of Jesus" deserved alongside "the commandments of God" within their theology and eschatology. Not that some leaders and even members did not understand it before 1888, but the emphasis of the denomination had definitely given a lop-sided importance to the moral law. It is a more concerned admission that the "faith of Jesus"--all the components of it, but more so righteousness by faith--was there in the third angel's message (a veritable trademark of Seventh-day Adventism) just waiting to be explored and utilized.

Righteousness by Faith and Seventh-day  
Adventist Eschatology, 1884-1888

The centrality of righteousness by faith in Seventh-day Adventist eschatology in the late nineteenth century embraced, notwithstanding the theological meaning of the term, "readiness" to meet the Lord. Irony exudes from the fact that of the three selected factors that form the core of this study, righteousness by faith, the factor that had the qualitative potential to elicit a deeply fervent and spiritual response, generated one of the most factious situations in Seventh-day Adventist history. It took several years after 1888 for the oppugnation to subside, and for healing to be achieved. While vestiges of the controversy still remain, righteousness-by-faith theology, inherently pregnant with a full and

joyful assurance, carved a dominant position in Seventh-day Adventist eschatology in the 1890s. With the passage of time, the denomination accepted (at least theoretically) righteousness by faith--the forensic declaration of righteousness on the sinner's behalf, on account of the righteousness of Christ (justification), as well as the development of character proceeding from the gift of grace and "union with Christ" (sanctification)--as central to the soteriological process. In eschatological terms, the appropriation of this truth by the denomination was considered essentially preparatory for the "perfecting" of the "saints" for the second advent of Jesus.

Consistent with the delimitations placed upon this study, it does not attempt to present the details of the controversy or to exhaust the doctrine of righteousness by faith presented at Minneapolis in 1888. This section treats the immediate pre-1888 position on righteousness by faith, aspects of the doctrine relevant to this study, gives attention to E. J. Waggoner's contribution, and, finally, it notes any significant insight that righteousness by faith has afforded to the development of Seventh-day Adventist eschatology.

#### The Immediate Pre-1888 Position on Righteousness by Faith

Chapter 2 presented some early glimpses of righteousness by faith in Adventism from denominational

literature up to 1884.<sup>87</sup> Theological innovations are not generally accidental "fallouts." They are usually pondered long. The scenario for 1888 was set during the years that immediately preceded it. Two points towered above the other factors that led to the theological debate. A rising "new generation" of young theologians commenced to promote the desperate need of the church of righteousness by faith. And, Ellen White, noting the "dry formalism" that had crept into the denomination, issued a call for a "revival of true godliness."

Growth in the Understanding of the  
Doctrine of Righteousness by Faith

The years inclusive of and following 1884 witnessed a growth in the denomination's understanding of righteousness by faith by a few of its leaders. In 1884, even though G. I. Butler (president of the General Conference) maintained a heavy legal emphasis, he touched the heart of the doctrine. He stated that the Christian is represented as having been clothed with righteousness which is "right doing, or obedience to the law of God." Butler hastened to point out, however, that the shrouded Christian is not only covered with the righteousness of Christ, but that Christ enabled the needy person to obtain the covering of righteousness. It was faith in Christ which produced that righteousness and gave the "strength to carry out [the law's] sacred

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<sup>87</sup>See pp. 106-114 of this study.

principles, and live up to all its requirements."<sup>88</sup> Butler's apologetics registered a signal that Seventh-day Adventist theologians would be addressing both of the essential concepts of Rev 14:12--"the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus."

During this period, the Signs of the Times rather than the Review served as a forum for the promulgation of the righteousness-by-faith concepts. After the death of James White in 1881, J. H. Waggoner assumed the editorship of the Signs. Then, in 1886, upon the departure of the senior Waggoner to Europe in the interest of the publishing work on that continent, his son, E. J. Waggoner, and A. T. Jones became the co-editors. The association of these two men developed into an intellectual force that would later disturb some of the historic theological positions of Seventh-day Adventism. So, two years before 1888, some "first-generation" leaders of the denomination--particularly G. I. Butler and Uriah Smith (editor of the Review)--expressed grave concern and "righteous anger" about the seeming novelties that appeared in the Signs of the Times on the subject of the law in Galatians, the base from which E. J. Waggoner launched his position on righteousness by faith.

Some pertinent examples from some of the articles

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<sup>88</sup>G. I. Butler, "Our Righteousness vs. Christ's Righteousness," RH 61 (September 23, 1884): 616-17.

that appeared in the Signs of the Times help to indicate some of the foundational planks that were being laid by Jones and Waggoner. In a March 1886 editorial, the question was asked, "How can a man be just with God?" The author answered his own question by stating that the first step towards salvation was for sinners to accept Christ's righteousness as a substitute for their incapacities.<sup>89</sup> Later in the same year, E. J. Waggoner published a series of articles in the Signs entitled, "Comments on Galatians 3."<sup>90</sup> Seemingly a harbinger of his presentations at Minneapolis in 1888, Waggoner, in those articles, differed from the current dominant Adventist position by claiming that the law in Galatians referred to the moral and not the ceremonial law. Because of the importance of these articles, a summary of some of Waggoner's conclusions now follow.

Ellet J. Waggoner was an incisive and methodical thinker. Without explaining the details of his arguments or their theological ramifications, three main peaks stand out in his expositions. These are: (1) the law that the apostle Paul referred to in Gal 3 is the moral law of ten commandments;<sup>91</sup> (2) from the study of

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<sup>89</sup>Editorial, "Justification by Faith," ST 13 (March 10, 1886): 148.

<sup>90</sup>This series has nine parts and appeared in the Signs of the Times from July 10 to September 2, 1886.

<sup>91</sup>[E. J.] W[aggoner], "Comments on Galatians 3, No. 8," ST 12 (August 26, 1886): 518-19.

the law proceeded the foundational elements of the doctrine of righteousness by faith;<sup>92</sup> and (3) a firm eschatological position emerged noting the glorious triumph of the "seed," (Christ) at His second advent.<sup>93</sup>

In the first installment, Waggoner observed that, on the surface, Gal 3 seems to support the claim of the antinomians that the law is useless. Paul was not discouraging obedience to the law, however, but rather he was discouraging human efforts to satisfy the demands of the law "outside of Christ." The background of the problem is found in Acts 15 where it is recorded that certain men had come down from Judea and "taught the brethren that, 'Except ye be circumcised after the manner of Moses, ye cannot be saved'" (Vs 1).

On account of the gullibility of the people with respect to circumcision after they had initially come to Christ through faith, Paul addressed them with a strong epithet, "O foolish Galatians" (3:1). The apostle took issue with this teaching that initiated the Jerusalem council. The irony is apparent. While circumcision, an ordinance concerning the ceremonial law, gave birth to the epistle to the Galatians, Waggoner argued that Paul

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<sup>92</sup>Waggoner's views on righteousness by faith show up in all nine of the articles.

<sup>93</sup>[E. J.] W[aggoner], "Comments on Galatians 3, No. 4," ST 12 (July 29, 1886): 454; idem, "Comments on Galatians 3, No. 5," ST 12 (August 5, 1886): 470.



departed from the ceremonial law to emphasize obedience to the moral law through faith in Christ's power. Circumcision was symbolic of human works and was, therefore, "subversive" to Paul's thought "that sinners could obtain justification only by the grace of God, through faith in the blood of Christ."<sup>94</sup>

In the second installment, Waggoner resolved the seeming contradiction in Gal 3:13 that states: "Christ both redeemed us from the curse of the law, being made a curse for us: for it is written, Cursed is every One that hangeth on a tree." He pointed out that the problem of the "curse" did not reside in the law itself. The curse results from disobedience to the law. Conversely, obedience results in blessings instead of cursings. The curse is death; and "the wages of sin is death" (Romans 6:23). By suffering the death of the cross (the hanging "on a tree"), Waggoner continued, "he [Christ] was made a curse for us" to redeem sinful human beings from the curse of eternal death, the penalty for disobedience. The surety of this redemption is predicated upon "two immutable things"--God's promise and His

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<sup>94</sup>Idem, "Comments on Galatians 3, No. 1," ST 12 (July 8, 1886): 406. Waggoner drew attention to internal evidence in the chapter, noting that vs. 10 ("Cursed is everyone that continueth not in all things which are written in the book of the law to do them") has been quoted from Deuteronomy 27:26 ("Cursed be he that confirmeth not all the words of this law to do them." Cf., Jer 11:24). Waggoner stated that these are unmistakable references to the ten commandments (ibid.).

oath, both confirming "that God's grace as manifested in Christ is man's sole hope."<sup>95</sup>

In the third installment of the series, Waggoner looked at Paul as a "supposed objector" to all that he [Paul] had said before, by asking himself [Paul] the question, "Wherefore then serveth the law?" (3:19). The word "serveth" is unnecessary in the King James Version, affirmed Waggoner. The exact translation of the Greek, "Ti oun ho nomos," is "Why then the law?" In other words, if Christ is all that He has been purported to be, what is the purpose of the law? It seems to be useless. No, countered Paul. "It [the law] was added because of transgression." The word "added" does not inject an afterthought on God's part. The law existed ethically from the beginning. It, however, became blurred through the centuries, and in consequence of Israel's slavery and oppression in Egypt, the law was almost erased from the minds of the people. God, therefore, "added" or "spoke" it again at Sinai.<sup>96</sup> It was "spoken" because of transgressions, or to highlight the enormity of sin. "Moreover the law entered that the offense might abound" (Rom 5:20), so that grace might be shown to be more

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<sup>95</sup>Idem, "Comments on Galatians 3, No. 2," ST 12 (July 15, 1886): 422-23.

<sup>96</sup>Idem, "Comments on Galatians 3, No. 3," ST 12 (July 22, 1886): 438. Waggoner pointed out that both of the words "added" and "spoken" translate the Greek word prostithami in the New Testament ("added" in Gal 3:21; "spoken" in Heb 12:19).

abundant. In summing up, Waggoner said that

it was necessary for men to see the real nature of sin, in order that they might seek the grace that is in Christ, which alone can take away sin. And the more enormous sin appeared, the more comprehensive views could they have of grace; for no matter how greatly sin abounded, grace superabounded.<sup>97</sup>

Waggoner did not intend to convey the understanding that he interpreted Paul to mean that the law was given so that grace could be appreciated. On the contrary, since sin raised its rebellious head, made visible by God's law, His ethical standard, Christ promised to provide abundant grace to cancel the debt of sin in behalf of any sinner who in faith calls upon Him. Further, Christ's intervention would provide added power for the continuation of a victorious Christian life.

Waggoner explained this continuity of the power of grace in the sixth installment of the series. He stated that Jesus Christ

imputes to the repentant sinner his own righteousness, which is the righteousness of God, and enables him to live up to the requirements of the law, thus making him "meet to be [a] partaker of the inheritance of the saints of light."<sup>98</sup>

So, this gift of grace is not a covering for past sins only. Waggoner viewed righteousness by faith as a dynamic force, affecting the past and at the same time infusing power into the life for present behavior and future Christian growth. In short, righteousness by faith for

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<sup>97</sup>Ibid.

<sup>98</sup>Idem, "Comments on Galatians 3, No. 6," ST (August 12, 1886): 486.

Waggoner spelled sanctification as well as justification. He always kept the law in perspective as he explored the doctrine of righteousness by faith. The law, however, fitted into a new relationship under the second or new covenant. In this new contract, through the ministry of the Holy Spirit, the "law will . . . [be] written in the hearts of all persons who," by faith, choose Christ.<sup>99</sup>

Although Waggoner made it clear from the very first installment of his series that he was dealing with the moral and not the ceremonial law, he addressed this subject in a more detailed manner in the eighth and ninth installments in his exposition of vss. 23-25. The text of these verses is as follows:

But before faith came, we were kept under the law, shut up unto the faith which should afterward be revealed.

Wherefore the law was our schoolmaster to bring us unto Christ, that we might be justified by faith.

But after that faith has come, we are no longer under a schoolmaster.

Waggoner's conclusion that the "law" in these verses is the moral law triggered a stormy reaction from a senior and influential segment of denominational leaders. This conclusion, more than his approach to righteousness by faith, ignited the fury of the storm. It would be useful to examine the viewpoint that prompted the debate.

Waggoner expressed the idea that many have "either confounded the moral law with the levitical or

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<sup>99</sup>Ibid.

ceremonial or else have supposed that the third of Galatians refers principally to the ceremonial law."<sup>100</sup> He opposed such a conclusion and defended his conviction that Gal 3 refers to the ten-commandment moral law.

1. The law from whose curse Christ redeems us (vs. 13) must be the moral law, because there is nothing in the ceremonial law to condemn anyone. The ceremonial law was the sum of the gospel ordinances in the Jewish age, and there was no curse attached to it. "Condemnation could come only through violation of the ten commandments," the law that has judicial powers.<sup>101</sup>

2. The Galatians, to whom the epistle was personally addressed, were chiefly converts from heathenism and had never had any connection with the ceremonial law and, consequently, could not be redeemed from it. The blessing of Abraham became available to the Gentiles through Christ "only as they are redeemed from iniquity,-- the transgression of the moral law."<sup>102</sup>

3. Only the moral law could arrive at the conclusion that "all [are] under sin." There was nothing in the ceremonial law that could show men to be under sin.<sup>103</sup>

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<sup>100</sup>Ibid.

<sup>101</sup>Idem, "Comments on Galatians 3, No. 9," ST 12 (September 2, 1886): 534-35.

<sup>102</sup>Ibid.

<sup>103</sup>Ibid.

4. The words of vs. 23, "But before faith came, we were kept under the law," bring out the same meaning. What law was there before faith came? It could not be the ceremonial law; "it followed faith." On the contrary, prior to persons demonstrating faith in Christ, they are "under the law, shut up" until by grace through faith they escape from under the law's condemnation.<sup>104</sup>

5. Waggoner observed that the interchange of infinitives in vs. 24 by some individuals has been responsible for the wrong interpretation attributed to the passage. "Wherefore the law was our schoolmaster to bring us unto Christ, that we might be justified by faith," conveys a different meaning from "Wherefore the law was our schoolmaster to point us to Christ." This usage produced the argument that the ceremonial law pointed to Christ, therefore, vs. 24 refers to the ceremonial law. This could not be so, countered Waggoner. The paidagogos ("schoolmaster") "brings," "tutors," and "corrects," etc. The role of the Greek paidagogos (a paid slave) was dominant and authoritative as he "attended kids to school," even "beating them if they were inclined to play truant." It is the moral law that "brings" to Christ, not the ceremonial. In this function, the moral law acts as a "jailer" because "before faith came, we were kept under the law, shut up,"

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<sup>104</sup>Ibid.

or kept "in ward" (vs. 23). In this function also, the moral law acts as a tutor, or pedagogue, or "schoolmaster," correcting conduct (vs. 24). These functions do not conflict, for imprisonment awakens a desire to escape, and this is possible only through faith in Jesus Christ. Therefore, it is the moral law and not the ceremonial law that "brings" the sinner to Christ. It is the moral law, therefore, to which vs. 24 refers.<sup>105</sup>

6. Waggoner pointed out that in the fragment "the law was" (vs. 24), the past tense should be used only by those who have accepted Christ and have been "justified by faith." He used the following argument:

Since the law was our schoolmaster to bring us to Christ, it must still be the schoolmaster (pedagogue) to those who are not in Christ, and must retain that office until everyone who will accept Christ is brought to Him. Therefore, the law will be a schoolmaster to bring men to Christ, as long as probation lasts.<sup>106</sup>

In the interest of this study, it must be noted that Waggoner, in developing his exposition to show the relationship between the law and the gospel, assigned a central position to the climax of the gospel. This is an eschatological position that was addressed by Waggoner in the fourth and fifth installments of the series. Because these articles deal with eschatology (the focal point of this study), they are being treated at the conclusion

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<sup>105</sup>Ibid.; idem, "Comments on Galatians 3, No. 8," ST 12 (August 26, 1886): 518-19.

<sup>106</sup>Idem, "Comments on Galatians 3, No. 9," ST (September 2, 1886): 534-35.

of this discussion of Waggoner's articles on Gal 3.

In the fourth installment, Waggoner began to develop his eschatological viewpoint relating to Gal 3 by analyzing the word "seed" in verse 19. A portion of this verse states that "it [the law] was added because of transgressions, till the seed should come to whom the promise was made." We have already examined Waggoner's view concerning why the law "was added because of transgressions." The eschatological aspect of his exposition is based on the remaining part of the passage: "till the seed should come to whom the promise is made."

The "seed" is Christ according to internal evidence.<sup>107</sup> Waggoner stated that some commentators have supposed the coming of the seed to be the first advent of Christ, but he posited that careful study would show that the passage refers to Christ's second advent. "The seed is never mentioned except in connection with the 'promise,'" avowed Waggoner, "and the promise is fulfilled only at the second coming of Christ."<sup>108</sup>

Further, the "bruising" or destruction of the serpent (Satan) by the seed (Gen 3:15) did not take place at Christ's first advent. This bruising would occur at the second advent, according to the Pauline comment in Rom 16:20 that repeated the Genesis verdict

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<sup>107</sup>Gal 3:16.

<sup>108</sup>[E. J.] W[aggoner], "Comments on Galatians 3, No. 4," ST 12 (July 29, 1886): 454.



against Satan. The words, "And the God of peace shall bruise Satan under your feet shortly," recorded after Christ's ascent to heaven, confirmed the fact, claimed Waggoner, that the bruising by the seed is still future. The misunderstanding of this important sequence of events led to the rejection of Christ by the Jews, because they had expected Him to fulfill the Messianic prophecies at His first advent.<sup>109</sup>

Waggoner called attention to the fact that the promise to the seed proliferates in several biblical passages. He listed some to show that the seed will take possession of the earth, retrieve the "diadem," and bless all nations.<sup>110</sup> At this stage of his exposition, Waggoner tied together righteousness by faith and eschatology. The promised inheritance or the right to "possess the whole earth" would be given to all persons who repose faith in Jesus Christ as Abraham did. Abraham's faith, typical of the quality of faith that a Christian should have, was accepted as righteousness. (Yet, it was Christ and not faith that was central here.) Consequently, faith and inheritance, claimed Waggoner,

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<sup>109</sup>Ibid.

<sup>110</sup>Idem, "Comments on Galatians 3, No. 5," ST 12 (August 5, 1886): 470. Waggoner incorporated into his argument, Ps 2:7, 8; Ezek 21:25-27; Gal 3:6-9, and Gen 12:3. With respect to Ezek 21:25-27, Waggoner said that the three "overturnings" in the passage refer to the changing of the guard in ancient neareastern geopolitics. This occurred when the Babylonian empire was succeeded first by Medo-Persia, next Greece, then Rome.

are interlocked.<sup>111</sup> In harmony with the context of Waggoner's fourth installment, it would not be an overstatement to say that he visualized faith and inheritance as being eschatologically interlocked--one the precursor, the other the reality.

Waggoner said that the "inheritance is given solely on account of faith" and not on account of law. True, the law would serve an important purpose, being "jailer" and "tutor," goading the sinner to seek deliverance through faith "till the seed shall come to whom the promise was made. The ultimate fulfillment of the promises to the seed would be realized at the second advent. "There can be no doubt in any mind that the apostle has reference in verse 19 to the second coming of Christ."<sup>112</sup>

There was a major reaction to Waggoner's 1886 articles on Gal 3. The very year of their publication, G. I. Butler (president of the General Conference) released his pamphlet, The Law in the Book of Galatians, to oppose Waggoner's view that the law in Galatians refers to the moral law. Butler held that it was the ceremonial law to which Paul referred in the epistle to the Galatians, and that "our opponents" had set about to spread "their Antinomian doctrines." He

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<sup>111</sup>Ibid. Waggoner used Gal 3:14 and Rom 4:13 to develop his point of view.

<sup>112</sup>[E. J.] W[aggoner], "Comments on Galatians 3, No. 5," ST 12 (August 5, 1886): 470.

reached back historically into the denomination's treatment of the issue.

Leading brethren have been on both sides of the question. In the early history of the work, it is probable that quite a majority of them accepted the view that the moral law was the main subject of Paul's consideration in the book of Galatians. But there came quite a change in this respect at a later period, when some of our leading brethren, to whom our people have ever looked as safe counsellors in questions of perplexity, gave up the view that the moral law was mainly under discussion, and took the position that it was the ceremonial law.<sup>113</sup>

Waggoner responded in 1888 by issuing a work similar to Butler's, a pamphlet entitled The Gospel in the Book of Galatians. While the ideas expressed are almost a recapitulation of his articles that appeared in 1886, the flavor is more obviously polemical. He said he wanted "merely to correct some erroneous views" for the benefit of those who wanted to carefully study the epistle to the Galatians, and at the same time "to allay controversy, to help to bring the household of God into the unity of the faith as it is in Christ Jesus."<sup>114</sup>

The debate spanned several years. It cannot be treated fully here. A synopsis is crucial, however, to show Waggoner's position on righteousness by faith with

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<sup>113</sup>G. I. Butler, The Law in the Book of Galatians: Is It the Moral Law, or Does It Refer to that System of Laws Peculiarly Jewish? (Battle Creek, Mich.: Review & Herald Publishing House, 1886), pp. 3, 4, 6, 7.

<sup>114</sup>E. J. Waggoner, The Gospel in the Book of Galatians: A Review (Oakland, Calif.: [Pacific Press], 1888), p. 1.

respect to the Galatians epistle. Three main foci surfaced in the debate: circumcision, the ceremonial law, and the moral law.

With regard to the two pamphlets, the quality of writing shows that intellectually, Butler and Waggoner were equally matched. But while Butler shackled himself with orthodoxy, Waggoner was unfettered by a penchant for "novelty." Butler had his territory to defend. Waggoner had a path to explore. As president, Butler's loyalty to the "old landmarks" towered to the crest of the situation. As a budding theologian formerly trained in medicine, Waggoner visualized a reformation.

Butler claimed that Paul had "the ceremonial and not the moral law . . . in view" in the epistle to the Galatians.<sup>115</sup> Waggoner stood his ground in rebutting Butler's claim, reiterating the position he took in his articles. He pointed out that the moral law is definitely reflected in the decision of the Jerusalem council, asserting:

I should be extremely sorry to have people get the idea that we do not regard pollutions of idols, or fornication, as violations of the moral law. You claim that it is the ceremonial law alone that was under consideration in the council. Will you please cite me that portion of the ceremonial law which forbids fornication and idolatry?<sup>116</sup>

While Waggoner's main forte was the function of the moral law in the epistle, he did not deny that the

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<sup>115</sup>Butler, The Law in Galatians, p. 25.

<sup>116</sup>Waggoner, The Gospel in Galatians, p. 13.

ceremonial law came under consideration at the council; it was the dispute concerning circumcision (a rite of the ceremonial law) that had made it necessary for the council to meet in the first place. Skillfully using the ceremonial law to strengthen his argument, he observed that "the only reason why those who taught circumcision were reprov'd, was because such teaching . . . led to the violation of the moral law; and this is the sum of the teaching of the book of Galatians."<sup>117</sup>

A continuance in the rite of circumcision, he figured, would be virtually a salvific effort, displacing justification by faith in Jesus Christ. Hence, circumcision would change its "garb," become idolatry (a worship of self-sufficiency in this situation) and, as a result, infringe upon the moral law.<sup>118</sup>

Interestingly, while on one hand Waggoner made circumcision his point of departure to show the function of the moral law, on the other hand, Butler made circumcision his point of focus to support his claim in favor of the ceremonial law in the epistle. Strangely though, Butler weakened his contention when he stated two

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<sup>117</sup>Ibid., p. 16.

<sup>118</sup>Waggoner was careful to point out that Paul had emphatically warned the Galatian Christians against being circumcised, but not because circumcision per se was "heinous." Paul himself had had Timothy circumcised after the Jerusalem council, for that matter. Paul's concern was that people "were trusting in circumcision for justification, thus cutting loose from Christ, and relapsing into idolatry" (ibid).

opposing ideas regarding circumcision. He first said that the Jews had "special privileges, with circumcision as their representative sign." He later admitted that the "law of rites . . . constituted a 'yoke of bondage' grievous to be borne."<sup>119</sup> He could have escaped the dilemma if he had taken time to clarify his position. Of course, Waggoner revelled in the situation and launched an attack against Butler's apparent contradiction. He pointed out that it was difficult for any person to "harmonize" Butler's thought of something being a "special privilege" and a "yoke" at the same time.<sup>120</sup>

Butler repudiated Waggoner's thesis respecting the moral law ipso facto, even though it rekindled a view formerly accepted in early Adventism. Of more serious import, Butler allowed his fixation relative to circumcision, hence the ceremonial law, vis-a-vis Waggoner's "vote" for the moral law in Galatians, to prompt himself to make unwholesome comments about righteousness by faith, a doctrine that he certainly believed.<sup>121</sup> It is difficult for the reader to miss the authoritative repugnance in the following statement by Butler:

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<sup>119</sup>Butler, The Law in Galatians, pp. 10-12.

<sup>120</sup>Waggoner, The Gospel in Galatians, pp. 6-7.

<sup>121</sup>In 1884 Butler wrote favorably about the fact that Christ enabled the sinner to obtain the covering of righteousness that also infused strength to carry out . . . [the law's] sacred principles, and live up to all its requirements" (see, G. I. Butler, "Our Righteousness vs. Christ's Righteousness," RH 61 (September 23, 1884): 616-17.

Before we close this argument, we wish to impress this point more fully, to convince our friends, if possible, who hold the opposite view, that this question of circumcision in the apostolic church was not one of minor importance, but in its effects upon the progress of Christianity and the presentation of gospel truth, was equal in the apostle's mind to even the much-vaunted doctrine of justification by faith. As we have said, we hold the latter to be a very important doctrine. But the special thing with which the apostle had to contend in his work among the Gentiles was to show the proper relation between his work and the old system that was passing away.<sup>122</sup>

The above statement confirms the fact that the storm that raged over righteousness by faith in the 1880s and 1890s was not essentially over righteousness by faith. Rather, a major aspect of the debate was over the function assigned to the moral law. The "radical" interpretation of Waggoner and Jones led to suspicion among some senior leaders that a sinister attempt was being made to compromise the very bulwark of Adventism--the moral law, and therefore, the fourth-commandment Sabbath.

The root of the dispute concerning circumcision, hence, the approach of Butler and Waggoner to the entire book of Galatians, lay in the perspective of the two men. Butler viewed circumcision not simply as the starting point, but as the subject (expanded into the whole ceremonial system of laws) that exercised Paul's interest throughout the book. Waggoner viewed circumcision as the point of departure, as the subject that arrested Paul's

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<sup>122</sup>Butler, The Law in Galatians, p. 78. (Emphasis supplied).

attention that human effort was taking the place of justification by faith. And since the worship of human works is idolatry, Waggoner assigned to the moral law the central position in the epistle.

A close comparison of the material in Waggoner's articles of 1886 and that of his pamphlet of 1888 (as prompted by Butler's questions and observations), reveals that Waggoner's views did not change. This is crucial for supporting the assumption that Waggoner's presentations at the 1888 General Conference session on the law in Galatians, with righteousness by faith as a by-product, were consistent with his 1886 and early 1888 views on the subject.

After this brief discussion on the Gal 3 issue and the resulting debate between Waggoner and Butler, we must return to other writers' views on righteousness by faith published during the notable pre-1888 period. In 1886 J. H. Waggoner wrote concerning two "applications" or two kinds of justification. One was the righteousness that was completed by obedience, and the other was the righteousness that exalted the pardoned sinner to a status of righteousness. In spite of the fact that for the first "application" he used Rom 2:13, which does state that "the doers of the law shall be justified," the possibility is inherent that he was also thinking of the New Testament book of James and its ethical concerns as fruits of faith. In a later



article, Waggoner did compare and contrast the ideas on law and righteousness in Paul and James.<sup>123</sup>

With respect to the second "application" of justification, J. H. Waggoner, in a peculiar kind of reasoning, negated the first application because "man has effectually and entirely forfeited" the ability to gain by his own effort "the righteousness that was completed by obedience." He extolled the second application since it is acquired by faith, and "One [i.e., Christ], does for the sinner what he cannot do for himself," and this

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<sup>123</sup>J. H. W[aggoner], "Justification by Faith," ST 12 (November 25, 1886): 712-13. Rom 2:13 states: "For not the hearers of the law are just before God, but the doers of the law shall be justified." A cognate thought in the book of James states: "But be ye doers of the word and not hearers only, deceiving your own selves. . . . "But whoso looketh into the perfect law of liberty, and continueth therein, he being not a forgetful hearer, but a doer of the work, this man shall be blessed in his deed" (Jas 1:22, 25).

J. H. Waggoner was convinced that Paul and James did not contradict each other on the subject of justification by faith. Each approached the subject from a different perspective. In a later article, "Justification and Salvation," ST 12 (December 30, 1886): 792-93, Waggoner compared and contrasted Paul and James. He explained that the justification of which Paul spoke was "for the remission of sins that are past." Justification must, therefore, be accomplished without deeds of the law, for man could not help himself in rectifying past failures.

James, on the other hand, was not dealing with past sins. The apostle wrote of what was necessary for the formation of Christian character. Since persons formed their characters by their actions as regard the present and the future, J. H. Waggoner reasoned, then Paul and James held the same ground. "Justification," he added, "is not of or by works; it only fits a person for working; it places him where he can work for divine acceptance."

is by imputation.<sup>124</sup> (Later, E. J. Waggoner would develop a full-blown theology around these concepts.)

From an eschatological point of view, J. H. Waggoner distinguished justification from salvation. He believed that justification by faith was not the terminus ad quem--the end of the individual's experience, but rather the terminus a quo--an end that began a new experience. Here he was thinking of a total deliverance involving physical, emotional, and spiritual release from the realm of sin.<sup>125</sup> To summarize, he postulated that "justification is for past sins, or for their remission; salvation is future, and is conditional upon patient continuance in well doing."<sup>126</sup>

The exploding ideas concerning righteousness by faith were not the monopolies of the Waggoners. As was already stated, A. T. Jones discussed the "mystery of God" (i.e., the gospel) within the context of the third angel's message. For Jones, the "fellowship of the mystery" is experienced by individuals when Christ dwelt in their hearts by faith. The journey by faith would lead to salvation--a climactic deliverance.<sup>127</sup>

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<sup>124</sup>J. H. W[aggoner], "Justification by Faith," ST 12 (November 25, 1886): 712-13.

<sup>125</sup>*Ibid.*, p. 713.

<sup>126</sup>*Idem*, "Justification and Salvation," ST 12 (December 30, 1886): 792-93.

<sup>127</sup>[A. T.] J[ones], "The Third Angel's Message," ST 14 (July 13, 1888): 425-26.

Cottrell also showed a near grasp of the new emphasis that was emerging. Faith was not sight, he said. It took hold of the naked promises of God that were sealed by the efficacy of Christ's blood that cleansed from all sin. But, so as not to give the anti-nomians the wrong impression, he hastened to add that "faith does not release us from our obligation to obey and keep His commandments." He believed that while people relied on faith in Christ for pardon, they should live as though their final salvation depended on their "own future obedience," making their faith perfect by works. "Those who lay hold of eternal life by faith . . . will be saved," he said.<sup>128</sup> Cottrell's article has the ring of a polemical piece. Some would argue that he did not understand the concepts that were developing because he perceived righteousness as coming partly from Christ, and partly from the performance of good works.

Before the 1888 General Conference session, many Seventh-day Adventist leaders understood to a large extent the role of righteousness by faith for the individual's justification and ultimate salvation. Yet their

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<sup>128</sup>R. F. Cottrell, "Where Is Your Faith?" ST 14 (July 20, 1888): 436. Cottrell, cast in the role of a fidei defensor, vindicated the traditional position without negating righteousness by faith. He sought to show the importance of the doctrine but was very mindful not to give the readers of the Signs the impression that he was totally submerged in all aspects of the new interpretations concerning the law and the gospel. His emphasis on obedience differed from E. J. Waggoner's, which credited Christ with the entire fruitage of faith (or works) in the Christian's life.

advocacy of the doctrine was fettered by their fervent loyalty to the moral law in an atmosphere in which the fourth commandment was threatened by a national Sunday law. This must be understood because of the distinctive place the law, and particularly the Sabbath, held in their heritage. Other Adventists consciously or unconsciously expressed justification in a duality--faith added to works of obedience, rather than faith producing works or fruits of obedience. The denomination feared to give primacy to a doctrine that would place it (the denomination) on the same platform with Protestant Christianity. This they thought would supplant the commandments of God highlighted in the third angel's message.

It would appear that whatever level of understanding existed in the denomination regarding righteousness by faith before the 1888 General Conference session, for many it was more a theory than an experience. In the view of Ellen White, this failure to move from theory to an experiential appropriation of righteousness by faith led the denomination into a spiritually lukewarm condition. This low spiritual state into which many had fallen generated much concern, causing Ellen White to call for a revival.

Ellen White's Concern:  
A Call to Revival

Ellen White confessed that there was "too much formality in the church" and that a "revival of true

godliness" was needed.<sup>129</sup> Olson in his Thirteen Crisis Years visualized a parallel between the prophets who brought messages to the "church" in Bible times and Ellen White through whom the "Lord sent earnest messages to the people of His remnant church." The messages bore strong appeals "to put first things first--to make Christ the center of all their living and preaching activity."<sup>130</sup>

Ellen White had voiced her concern long before 1888. In 1879 she jolted Adventist preachers by telling them that very "often . . . [the] truth is presented in cold theory" and that "golden opportunities" were squandered when Christ could have been magnified before the people.<sup>131</sup> She appealed to the ministers in 1880 to "dwell more upon practical godliness," more upon the cross of Christ, and more upon the exhaustless generosity and amazing compassion of Jesus for sinful human beings.<sup>132</sup> Her unabating concern was disseminated all across the country as the people gathered for campmeetings during the summer of 1882. Those who attended heard messages from Ellen White assuring them that "God has made provision that we may stand perfect in His grace,

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<sup>129</sup>Ellen White, "Praise Glorifies God," RH 64 (February 15, 1887): 97; idem, "The Church's Great Need," RH 64 (March 22, 1887): 177.

<sup>130</sup>Olson, Thirteen Crisis Years, p. 28.

<sup>131</sup>Ellen G. White, Testimonies, 4:313, 314.

<sup>132</sup>Ibid., 4:374, 375.

wanting nothing, waiting for the appearing of our Lord."<sup>133</sup> This provision accrued from the victory of Christ over sin, in consequence of which "God . . . raised Him again for our justification." Up to this time during the early 1880s, Ellen White continued to moan over the spiritual coldness that prevailed, offered Christ's grace as the solution, and challenged the denomination to "break off [from] sins by righteousness and [from] iniquities by turning unto the Lord."<sup>134</sup>

Throughout 1887, Ellen White's emphatic appeals for a revival appeared in the Review. In the month of January a warning against the "observance of external forms" and the parading of a "mere profession of Christ" went out to the people.<sup>135</sup> In February, she said that "too much formality" was impeding the missiological responsibility of the church and urged that a connection be made with Christ, "the Source of light," so "that we can be channels of light to the world."<sup>136</sup> In a March article, she addressed the laity of the denomination:

There are persons in the church who are not converted, and who will not unite in earnest, prevailing prayer. We must enter upon the work

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<sup>133</sup>Ibid., 5:220.

<sup>134</sup>Ibid., 5:231.

<sup>135</sup>Ellen G. White, "Unity of the Church," RH 64 (January 25, 1887): 491-92.

<sup>136</sup>Idem, "Praise Glorifies God," RH 64 (February 15, 1887): 97.

individually. We must pray more, and talk less. A revival of true godliness among us is the greatest and most urgent of all our needs. To seek this should be our very first work.<sup>137</sup>

Many had become so preoccupied with theological debates that Ellen White longed to see individual "heart" religion, with less talk and more prayer.

Unrelentingly, this "messenger of the remnant" to her people sustained the fervency of her appeals to the close of the year. In December 1887, she was still unsatisfied. The spiritual rehabilitation she hoped for had not come. She noted that there was a vast dissimilarity between a "pretended union" and a "real connection with Christ by faith." Her conviction was that revival was impossible without the imputed righteousness of Christ. This revival was achievable if Christians would first submit their will to God to effect a change of heart; then, with painful struggles, detach themselves from "pride, selfishness, vanity, [and] worldliness." She believed that these steps would lead to "union with Christ."<sup>138</sup>

It is clear that by the end of 1887, Ellen White, in calling for a revival, had articulated a strong position on righteousness by faith being both justification (for her, "imputed righteousness") and sanctification

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<sup>137</sup>Idem, "The Church's Great Need," RH 64 (March 22, 1887): 177-78.

<sup>138</sup>Idem, "Union with Christ," RH 64 (December 13, 1887): 769-70.

(for her, the producing of the "fruits of righteousness" in the Christian's life). Except for the emerging theological position that the law in Gal 3 includes the moral law (a view she later accepted), Ellen White stood poised to play a significant role in the historic debate at Minneapolis in 1888.

The sense of urgency that characterized Ellen White's messages during 1887 continued during 1888. Her concern to generate a copious revival underscored her appeals prior to the 1888 General Conference session. Regrettably, the texture of her language did not change, signifying that the denomination had not, up to that time, identified with her concern. Ellen White reiterated her disappointment about the "cold formalism" that had infected the church;<sup>139</sup> about "the spiritual death [that had] come upon the people that should be manifesting zeal, purity, and consecration";<sup>140</sup> and about the sinister power that severed "the cable that anchored them to the Eternal Rock."<sup>141</sup>

In August 1888, just a few weeks before the Minneapolis meeting, Ellen White blended pathos with authority in the following appeal:

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<sup>139</sup>Idem, "Divine Wisdom," RH 65 (April 17, 1888): 241-42.

<sup>140</sup>Idem, "How Do We Stand?" RH 65 (July 24 1888): 465-66.

<sup>141</sup>Ibid. Ellen White adopted the New Testament word "Rock," meaning Christ.



Jesus stands knocking--knocking at the door of your hearts--and yet, for all this, some say continually, 'I cannot find Him.' Why not? He says, 'I stand here knocking. Why do you not open the door, and say Come in, dear Lord?' I am so glad for these simple directions as to the way to find Jesus. . . . Open the door now, and empty the soul temple of the buyers and sellers, and invite the Lord to come in.<sup>142</sup>

The passage of time seemed to heighten rather than assuage the intensity of Ellen White's call to revival. In consequence of this burden, she once again appealed to the ministers. In September 1888, just before the important session, she begged the ministers to "show to [their] hearers Jesus in His condescension to save fallen man." Her focal preoccupation was the development of a relationship with Jesus Christ. She knew full well that it was only when Seventh-day Adventists became aware of their spiritually needy condition and so yield their "haughty hearts" to the "Pattern . . . and be humbled" that they would be able to claim the victory. She sincerely believed that this relationship with Jesus Christ was a dire necessity for the hastening of the needful revival--an experience she considered indispensable to prepare for the second advent.<sup>143</sup>

Ellen White's service to the denomination during this period was significant. This fact has not escaped

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<sup>142</sup>Idem, "The Need of Love," RH 65 (August 28, 1888): 545-46.

<sup>143</sup>Idem, "The Work of the Minister," RH 65 (September 11, 1888): 577-78.

commentators who look back at her role. In addition to Olson, other Adventist historians have commented on Ellen White's ministry to the denomination during what Olson called the "crisis years." Froom has noted that Ellen White returned from her sojourn in Europe in 1887 "with a deep burden for a genuine spiritual rebirth of the church, both at home and abroad."<sup>144</sup> Maxwell has highlighted the consistency of her appeals. "Repeatedly in these communications," he observed, "Ellen White presented the sublime beauty of Jesus Christ and then, in stark contrast, the evidence that . . . the church as a whole were desperately in need of reformation."<sup>145</sup> Schwarz has observed that Ellen White "tried valiantly to counteract the tendency of Adventists to flatter themselves on their very good moral character and obedience to God's laws," and that she issued a call for church members to renounce their "own righteousness . . . and plead the righteousness of Christ."<sup>146</sup>

The opinion has been generally accepted that Ellen White played a major role in establishing the doctrine of righteousness by faith in Adventism in these ways: (1) Her call to revival and reformation struck a positive chord. (2) Her messages of instruction as well as reproof were presented at Minneapolis. (3) Her

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<sup>144</sup>Froom, Movement of Destiny, p. 187.

<sup>145</sup>Maxwell, Tell It to the World, p. 246.

<sup>146</sup>Schwarz, Light Bearers, p. 184.

follow-up tours and writings after 1888 aimed at disseminating the doctrine and fostering its acceptance.

The section which follows treats, in synopsis, the General Conference session of 1888. Brief profiles of E. J. Waggoner and A. T. Jones are also presented. Because of their contributions at that historic conference, Seventh-day Adventists were led to rethink their position on the function of the moral law in the book of Galatians, refurbish their appreciation for the doctrine of righteousness by faith, and ponder new insights in prophetic understanding.

The Session of 1888 and Profiles of  
E. J. Waggoner and A. T. Jones

The General Conference session of 1888 convened at Minneapolis, Minnesota, from October 17 to November 4. Approximately ninety delegates gathered in the newly built Seventh-day Adventist church at Lake Street and Fourth Avenue. The Minneapolis meetings of 1888 ever rise like a promontory (some would say a precipice) in Adventist history. Many authors have treated the historical and theological details that proceeded from that important session.<sup>147</sup>

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<sup>147</sup>First, the ministerial institute ran from October 10 to 17. For more details on the presentation of the righteousness-by-faith doctrine in 1888 see the following: Spalding, Origin and History, 2:281-303; Olson, Thirteen Crisis Years, pp. 12-135; Froom, Movement of Destiny, pp. 148-347; Knight, Angry Saints, pp. 32-37; Maxwell, Tell It to the World, pp. 231-41; Schwarz, Light

On account of the situation that was festering over the nature of the law in Galatians and the identity of the ten horns of Dan 7, time was given for presentations on these subjects. Many had hoped that the theological problems would be settled in 1888, but history has proven that such optimism had to wait.

Ellet J. Waggoner (1855-1916), son of J. H. Waggoner, was born at Baraboo, Wisconsin. He attended Battle Creek College during the institution's earliest years and later became a physician after gaining a medical degree from Bellevue Medical College in New York City. His love for theology and evangelism motivated him to give up medicine for the ministry. In 1884 he became the assistant editor of the Signs of the Times under the guidance of his father who was then editor-in-chief. In 1886 he commenced his co-editorship of the Signs with A. T. Jones.<sup>148</sup> It was during the period of his editorial responsibilities that he published the series of articles in the Signs through which he presented a reinterpretation of the law in the book of Galatians. In 1887

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Bearers, pp. 183-97; Wieland, The 1888 Message; Wieland and Short, 1888 Re-Examined; idem, 1888 Re-Examined, rev. ed.; "Righteousness by Faith," SDAE, 1976 ed., pp. 1218-20.

<sup>148</sup>"Ellet J. Waggoner," SDAE, 1976 ed., p. 1563. Wahlen's research has rejected reports that Waggoner gained his medical degree from Bellevue, but instead from the Long Island College Hospital in Brooklyn, New York ("Waggoner's Eschatology," p. xiii).

Waggoner added to his editorial duties when he became co-editor (again with A. T. Jones) of the American Sentinel.

Young Waggoner's preoccupation with righteousness by faith took hold of him on a Saturday afternoon in 1882 while he was attending a camp meeting in Healdsburg, California. He reported that he had a vision of Christ hanging upon an illuminated cross. Waggoner, twenty-seven years of age at that time, commenced a relentless study of righteousness by faith after that experience.<sup>149</sup> History testifies that he redirected Adventist thinking on this subject. At the same time it must be clearly understood that Waggoner did not introduce righteousness by faith to Seventh-day Adventism. His major contribution lay in his experiential understanding of the subject and his position regarding the moral law in the epistle to the Galatians, the position upon which he grounded his views concerning righteousness by faith.

Alonzo T. Jones (1850-1923) was born in Ohio. He enlisted in the army at the age of twenty and served in it for five years. An avid reader, he used his spare time while in the army to study massive historical works, Seventh-day Adventist literature, and the Bible. He

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<sup>149</sup>E. J. Waggoner, The Everlasting Covenant (Paternoster Row, London: International Tract Society, 1900), pp. v-vi. In narrating his experience that took place "in a tent one dismal, rainy afternoon," Waggoner said that "a light shone and the tent seemed illumined." Then he said "[I] saw Christ crucified for me, and to me was revealed for the first time in my life the fact that God loved me" (p. v).

became a baptized member of the Seventh-day Adventist Church in 1874. After his military discharge, he began preaching on the West Coast for the denomination.<sup>150</sup>

Jones, thus largely self-taught, blossomed into a historian and theologian who attracted denominational attention. In 1885 he was named assistant editor of the Signs of the Times and rose to co-editorship, along with E. J. Waggoner in 1886. Jones's relationship with Waggoner expanded in 1887 when they shared the editorship of another denominational periodical, The American Sentinel. Jones also taught Bible and history at Healdsburg College, and at Battle Creek College after 1888. As mentioned above, on December 13, 1888, he appeared before the Senate Committee on Education and Labor to speak in behalf of Seventh-day Adventists against the Blair Sunday Rest Bill. Subsequently, he teamed up with J. O. Corliss to appear before another committee in Washington to oppose the Breckenridge Bill. Both bills were defeated. The denomination considered Jones a specialist in religious liberty affairs. At the 1888 Minneapolis session, he gave significant presentations on religious liberty that included pertinent details on the Blair bills and on the arrests and indictments against some Seventh-day Adventists in Arkansas. In another set of

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<sup>150</sup>"Alonzo T. Jones," SDAE, 1976 ed., p. 707. See also, Adelia P. Van Horn, "A Sabbath in Walla Walla,

lectures during the same session, Jones challenged Uriah Smith's view on some particulars regarding the prophecies of Dan 2 and 7, and Rev 12.<sup>151</sup> Jones, like Waggoner, etched his name on the pages of Adventist history.

Spalding contrastingly described the two men:

Young Waggoner was . . . short, stocky [and] somewhat diffident. Jones was a towering, angular man, with a loping gait and uncouth posturings and gestures. Waggoner was a product of the schools, with a leonine head well packed with learning, and with a silver tongue. Jones, [mainly self-educated], . . . had studied day and night to amass a great store of historical and Biblical knowledge. Not only was he naturally abrupt, but he cultivated singularity of speech and manner, early discovering that it was an asset with his audiences.<sup>152</sup>

Jones and Waggoner, emerging from what might be called Adventism's "second generation," challenged the standard doctrinal corpus. They precipitated a reappraisal of some of the denomination's emphases in theology and in the understanding of prophecy and religious liberty. 'Minneapolis 1888' would become synonymous with Jones and Waggoner.

#### Selected Issues Presented at the 1888 General Conference Session

This section attempts to deal with three issues that monopolized a sizeable portion of the agenda at

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W. T.," RH 44 (August 25, 1874): 78; Knight, From 1888 to Apostasy, pp. 15-22.

<sup>151</sup>Jones, Civil Government and Religion, pp. 65-77, 111-50.

<sup>152</sup>Spalding, Origin and History, 2:291-92.

Minneapolis in 1888, regarding (1) theology, (2) prophecy, and (3) religious liberty (i.e., the law in Galatians, the ten horns of Dan 7, and lectures on Sunday legislation and related issues).

1. It is to be regretted that the General Conference Bulletin of 1888 does not have a full treatment of E. J. Waggoner's studies on Galatians. Just meager synopses of four presentations have been recorded. The October 19 issue of the Bulletin states that at "2:30 p. m., Elder E. J. Waggoner [using the book of Romans] discussed the question of the law of God and its relation to the Gospel of Christ." Waggoner's interest, however, was in the book of Galatians. For his second lecture, he took up Gal 1 and 2 in connection with Acts 15 (reminiscent of his debate with Butler on the circumcision issue) to commence the development of his thesis "that . . . harmony existed" between "law and gospel." In this lecture he stated that the key to the book of Galatians is justification by faith in Christ. In his third lecture, Waggoner, continuing with Acts 15, moved on to Gal 2 and 3, and took note of Abraham's faith that "was accounted to him for righteousness." The fourth entry in the Bulletin on Waggoner's final lecture, made general remarks about his "series of instructive lectures."<sup>153</sup>

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<sup>153</sup>"First Day's Proceedings," GCB, October 19, 1888, pp. 1, 2; "Second Day's Proceedings," GCB, October 19, 1888, p. 2; "Third Day's Proceedings," GCB, October 21, 1888, p. 1; "Eighth Day's Proceedings," GCB, October 26, 1888, p. 3,



In regard to the remaining studies, the silence of the General Conference Bulletin has been broken by some notes taken at the session in 1888. One of these sources is the diary of R. Dewitt Hottel of Quicksburg, Virginia. It reveals that Waggoner presented eight studies "on the law in Galatians."<sup>154</sup> Waggoner lectured more than eight times, it would appear, since his October 21 sermon, recorded in the Bulletin, was not mentioned by Hottel who was absent for that presentation on account of illness.<sup>155</sup> Another source is the "Memoranda" of W. C. White--two notebooks providing some information on both the theological discussions and the business proceedings of the 1888 session.<sup>156</sup> In "book two" of White's memoranda, there is an October 14 sermon by E. J. Waggoner not mentioned in the Bulletin or by Hottel.<sup>157</sup> Therefore, until further information comes to light, it seems that Waggoner spoke eleven times on the law and the

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1888, p. 1. The GCB reveals nothing after this date.

<sup>154</sup>R. Dewitt Hottel, diary, October 9 through November 10, 1888.

<sup>155</sup>*Ibid.*, October 21, 1888. In accounting for his brief absence, Hottel recorded that his illness caused him to stay "in bed all day, [and] all night."

<sup>156</sup>W. C. White, memoranda (two booklets) of the 1888 General Conference, EGWE-DC.

<sup>157</sup>*Ibid.*, ("book two"), p. 3. In view of the fact that the 1888 session officially began on October 17, this presentation was quite likely given at the ministerial institute (pre-session held from October 10 to 17, 1888).

gospel according to the three sources used above.<sup>158</sup>

With reference to Hottel's diary, there is very little content concerning the Waggoner lectures. Hottel, however, made one point unmistakably clear: for seven of the eight speaking occasions, he stated that Waggoner spoke on the "law in Galatians."<sup>159</sup> Apparently, this subject intrigued Waggoner. His views on righteousness by faith proceeded out of his interpretation of Paul's epistle to the Galatians, particularly his exposition on the moral law in chap. 3. The conclusion is not an illogical one that Waggoner's lectures at the 1888 meetings reflected the same theological position that he advocated in his 1886 articles and in his 1888 book.<sup>160</sup>

The 1888 notes of W. C. White are disappointing with respect to the names of the lecturers and the

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<sup>158</sup>Opinions vary as to how many times Waggoner spoke at the 1888 session. Some writers included presentations given at the pre-session (October 10 to 17, 1888) that were not on the law and the gospel. Actually, the number of times Waggoner spoke is of no great importance. Wahlen, by including subjects outside of the area of "law and gospel," has counted thirteen times ("Waggoner's Eschatology, p. 83; 71-77); Froom eleven times (Movement of Destiny, p. 246); and McReynolds eleven times ("Experiences at the General Conference in 1888," in Manuscripts and Memories of Minneapolis, by the Ellen G. White Estate [Boise, Idaho: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1988], p. 340). Apparently Froom and McReynolds counted only lectures that dealt with the law and the gospel.

<sup>159</sup>Hottel, diary of 1888, entries for October 15 through 19, and November 3.

<sup>160</sup>These articles appeared in the ST from July 8 through September 2, 1886. See also, Waggoner, The Gospel in Galatians.

dates of their presentations. In contrast to Hottel, though, White recorded more substance regarding the daily Bible studies. For example, White took down what seems to be the full scriptural outline for Waggoner's study on the law in Galatians delivered on Friday, October 19.<sup>161</sup> It was a wide ranging lecture, covering both the moral and ceremonial laws and giving special attention to circumcision (a focal point that Waggoner and Butler debated in their 1888 booklets).

Yet another first person account is An Eyewitness Report of the 1888 General Conference, by R. T. Nash.<sup>162</sup> This report speaks of the tension-filled atmosphere and of Nash's appreciation for the lectures presented.

It fell to the lot of Elders Jones and Waggoner to conduct each morning the consecration service of the conference. They taught us from the scriptures in the most kind and simple way, that Jesus the Lamb of God took upon Himself all our burden of sin and gave His life for us. . . . He took upon Himself all our sins, and in exchange gave us His own righteousness. . . . What a wonderful exchange!<sup>163</sup>

Nash continued: "The speakers met a united opposition

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<sup>161</sup>W. C. White, memoranda of 1888, ("book 1"), pp. 8-11. Incidentally, both Hottel and the GCB confirm that Waggoner presented a lecture on that date.

<sup>162</sup>R. T. Nash, An Eyewitness Report of the 1888 General Conference at Minneapolis of Seventh-day Adventists [sic], published by author, n. d. A letter attached to this report is dated 1955.

<sup>163</sup>Ibid., p. 3. Nash prepared his report more than 60 years after the event and could have suffered a lapse of memory. For example, only Waggoner spoke on righteousness by faith in 1888, not both men.

from nearly all the senior ministers." They tried "to put a stop to this teaching by Elders Waggoner and Jones." R. M. Kilgore requested that a halt be put to the "discussion on the subject of righteousness by faith" until the arrival of the General Conference president (G. I. Butler). Ellen White, however, firmly objected, stating that the "Lord wants His work work to go forward," and Jones and Waggoner were allowed to continue.<sup>164</sup> Nash considered it most unfortunate that battle lines were formed at the conference, but he recognized that a religious organization must be willing to sacrifice equanimity for growth in theological understanding. It is not surprising that Ellen White supported the presentations that would eventually lead to the elevation of righteousness by faith in the denomination. She had been articulating righteousness by faith concepts and the need for revival for several years before the conference.

Among the strong supporters of the view that the law to which Paul referred in Galatians is the ceremonial law were G. I. Butler, president of the General Conference; Uriah Smith, editor of the Review and Herald; and J. H. Morrison, president of the Iowa Conference. In the absence of Butler, Morrison spoke in support of the ceremonial law. (Butler was absent due to illness.)<sup>165</sup>

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<sup>164</sup>Ibid., p. 6.

<sup>165</sup>G. I. Butler to E. G. White, October 1, 1888.

With respect to Smith, he was busy defending his own point of view on the ten horns of Dan 7 against A. T. Jones. Hottel's diary states that Morrison presented six studies on the law in Galatians.<sup>166</sup>

Morrison and his colleagues were concerned that the people were getting the impression that justification by faith was a new doctrine being introduced by E. J. Waggoner. But over and above that concern, their real distress was the premise that formed the base of Waggoner's and his supporters' view of justification by faith--the moral law in the book of Galatians. Nash drew attention to the fear that Morrison and others had:

Elder Morrison claimed, "We have always believed in and taught justification by faith, and are children of the 'true woman.'" He contended that the subject had been overstressed at this conference, and he seemed to be fearful that the law might lose the important place that belonged to it.<sup>167</sup>

Probably, the senior leaders who argued in favor of the ceremonial law suspected the intentions of the group that was advancing the view of the moral law (especially in Gal 3). The senior leaders feared that Waggoner and Jones had united to initiate a factious situation. As an act of "loyalty," therefore, the

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Other sources report that Butler's wife was also sick.

<sup>166</sup>Hottel, diary of 1888. The entries on the following dates show that Morrison lectured from Wednesday (October 24) through Tuesday (October 30), excluding Sabbath (October 27), 1888.

<sup>167</sup>Nash, Eyewitness Report, p. 4.

leading men took up defensive postures in order to protect what they considered "the old landmarks." "It is perhaps understandable," said Maxwell, "that some in the audience, not knowing at first what he had in mind, suspected Waggoner of undermining the Sabbath."<sup>168</sup>

Evidently, some persons did not understand Waggoner's position on righteousness by faith. It was not his intention to disseminate the idea that righteousness by faith would produce a barren ecstasy or a non-productive spiritual experience. Nor was it his purpose to jettison the law for the condoning of presumptuous sinning! With Paul he asked, "Shall we continue in sin that grace may abound? God forbid!"<sup>169</sup> Waggoner believed that joy and assurance should be fruits of righteousness by faith, yet true faith should lead to obedience. Such obedience is a fruit of faith and is not produced by human effort, but through Christ's presence in the life.

2. Another subject that generated much debate at Minneapolis was the ten horns of Dan 7. A. T. Jones lectured on this subject on October 14 and 16; Uriah Smith on October 15 and 17.<sup>170</sup> In his exposition, Jones

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<sup>168</sup>Maxwell, Tell It to the World, p. 234.

<sup>169</sup>Rom 6:1. Paul's epistle to the Romans is not out of place when one is discussing Waggoner and the epistle to the Galatians. Both epistles have the same theme. Waggoner stated: "The leading thought in the book[s] of Romans and Galatians is "justification by faith" (The Gospel in Galatians, pp. 8, 9).

<sup>170</sup>Hottel, diary, October 14 through 17, 1888.

cited evidence in favor of the Alemanni instead of the Huns (Smith's point of view for several years) as one of the ten kingdoms succeeding Rome. Looking back, Arthur W. Spalding has stated that the debate involving the two germanic peoples "was a minor matter, indeed, but it rubbed already stubborn fur the wrong way." The argument infected the gathering to the extent of polarizing delegates, some being known as "Huns," others as "Alemanni." Spalding, who attended the meetings at the age of eleven, looked back with the memory of an elderly man:

To argue this trifling historical issue, in the presence of the tremendous subjects of the atonement and the law of God, was like concentrating several corps on the capture of a cabin while the fate of the battle was trembling over the field. But to Smith the possession of the cabin seemed important. It was his cabin; if he should retire from this point, he might be routed everywhere. Jones pushed his views in a series of lectures in which this was only one point.

The conflict . . . involved personalities quite as much as preaching. Jones, and especially Waggoner were young men, and their voices, with a note of authority in them, were resented by not a few of the older men.<sup>171</sup>

In spite of Jones's sincerity and his confident mastery of both material and delivery, Spalding remembered him--perhaps through the glasses of Jones's later years--as having been "aggressive and at times obstreperous, and [that] he gave just cause for resentment."

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W. C. White also recorded that Smith gave a lecture on the ten horns on October 15.

<sup>171</sup>Spalding, Origin and History, pp. 291, 292.

Smith, on the other hand, Spalding recalled, "was a modest man, unobtrusive, [and] retiring; . . . yet his ability had kept him in the front ranks of the church's theologians."<sup>172</sup> Personality differences aside, both men were of immense value to the denomination.

3. Such was the context of A. T. Jones's four lectures on religious liberty at the 1888 General Conference.<sup>173</sup> Jones's intense interest in religious liberty was, for him, no mere intellectual exercise. Rather, it was inextricably linked to his interest in prophecy and, especially, in eschatology as Adventists understood it. He believed that the prophecy on the "mark of the beast" (to be developed through national Sunday legislation) was poised on the verge of fulfillment. Religious liberty, therefore, was vital to Jones's eschatology.

This section has treated three key topics that were presented at Minneapolis in 1888: the law in Galatians, the ten horns of Dan 7, and religious liberty. Waggoner related his righteousness-by-faith teaching to the "schoolmaster" law in Galatians.

Another speaker who contributed to the epochal Minneapolis conference was Ellen White. The delegates received at least ten messages from her--nine of them in

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<sup>172</sup>Ibid., pp. 292, 293.

<sup>173</sup>Even though he represented the denomination on several occasions on religious-liberty matters, religious liberty was not just a political assignment for Jones.



person and the tenth, read in her behalf.<sup>174</sup> While she remarked that some of Waggoner's interpretations of Scripture she did "not regard as correct," she acknowledged that he was sincere and honest in his views and concurred fully with his teaching on righteousness by faith.<sup>175</sup> She had been speaking and writing about the doctrine long before 1888, but her approach to the subject took its point of departure from the purity of Christ's life, His sacrificial death that provided an atonement for sin, and His offering of righteousness to anyone who reaches in faith to claim this gift. The operative words were faith and gift.

Ellen White expressed her conviction concerning righteousness by faith at the 1888 conference. In one of her presentations she commented on the excuses of people who said that it was difficult to "advance in the divine life." She then asked if it was an "imperfect sacrifice that was made for the fallen race at Calvary," and if there was not "sufficient grace and power granted us that we may work away from our natural defects and tendencies." She brought together the cross, the righteousness of Christ, and the law. "Man comes to Christ," she said "and God and man are united at the cross, and here

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<sup>174</sup>Olson conveniently gathered all ten of the sermons that Ellen White preached at the conference. See Thirteen Crisis Years, pp. 248-311 (appendix "A").

<sup>175</sup>Ellen G. White, "A Call to a Deeper Study of the Word," MS 15, 1888, EGWE-AU.

mercy and . . . righteousness . . . have kissed each other." The true message about Christ's gives the law its proper place: "to elevate the law of Jehovah." But she hastened to point out that people cannot "cleanse themselves by the righteousness of the law"; only by "His [Christ's] righteousness" can this take place. Christ is qualified to offer righteousness because "He has died, and because He has been obedient unto every requirement of that transgressed law of God."<sup>176</sup>

Ellen White said sincerely that she saw the "beauty of truth" in the presentations in relation to Christ's righteousness and the law "as the doctor has placed it before us." But she stated frankly that "some things presented [by E. J. Waggoner] in reference to the law in Galatians . . . do not harmonize with the understanding I have had on this subject." During the conference Ellen White appealed to both sides to "exercise the spirit of Christians." She condemned the relish for debate and pleaded that "strong feelings of prejudice" be suppressed "with unbiased minds, [and] with reverence and candor."<sup>177</sup>

After the general conference, Ellen White teamed up with Jones and Waggoner to spread the message of

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<sup>176</sup>Idem, "Advancing in Christian Experience," MS 8, 1888, EGWE-AU.

<sup>177</sup>Idem, "A Call to a Deeper Study of the Word," MS 15, EGWE-AU. Ellen White reprimanded J. H. Morrison for his debating attitude. She told him that he needed

Christ's righteousness at churches, campmeetings, ministerial institutes, and in various other gatherings of the Adventist community.

The next section of the study examines the impact that the new emphasis on righteousness by faith had on the development of Adventist eschatology from 1884-1888.

Significant Contribution of Righteousness by Faith  
to the Development Seventh-day Adventist  
Eschatology, 1884-1888

Righteousness-by-faith theology revitalized Seventh-day Adventist eschatological thinking. Post-Millerite Sabbatarian Adventists had warned against the mark of the beast and focused attention on the Sabbath as the seal of God. It was a significant aspect of the third angel's message.<sup>178</sup> Damsteegt has remarked that "the special message . . . proclaiming the restoration of the Sabbath as a test, in the context of the imminent Second Advent . . . was [perceived to be] the message of Rev. 14."<sup>179</sup> Later Seventh-day Adventists saw in the Sunday-law agitation of the 1880s the attack against the Sabbath foreseen in end-time prophecy.

Meanwhile Ellen White warned Seventh-day Adventists that their spiritual profession had shrunk to cold theory and dry formalism--which the "rediscovery"

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to cultivate the meekness of Jesus Christ.

<sup>178</sup>See pp. 160-62 above for a discussion on the Sabbath in Seventh-day Adventist eschatology.

<sup>179</sup>Damsteegt, Foundations, p. 140.

of righteousness by faith somewhat ameliorated.

Indeed, the idea developed that the preaching of righteousness by faith, when attended by the power of the Holy Spirit, would become the "loud cry" that would illuminate the earth in the last days. Essential to the new understanding that possessed the denomination was the view that the Christocentric nature of the righteousness by faith message would give light to the earth through the "rays of the Sun of Righteousness."<sup>180</sup> Said Ellen White, quoting her visionary:

There is much light yet to shine forth from the law of God and the gospel of righteousness. This message, understood in its true character, and proclaimed in the Spirit, will lighten the earth with its glory. The great decisive question is to be brought before all nations, tongues, and peoples. The closing work of the third angel's message will be attended with a power that will send the rays of the Sun of Righteousness into all the highways and byways of life, and decisions will be made for God as supreme Governor.<sup>181</sup>

Looking back at the 1888 session shortly after the event, Ellen White observed that at Minneapolis

the faith of Jesus [had] been overlooked and treated in an indifferent manner. It [had] not occupied the prominent position in which it [had] been revealed to John. Faith in Christ as the sinner's only hope [had] been largely left out, not only of the discourses given but of the religious experience of very many who claim to believe the third angel's message.<sup>182</sup>

Ellen White placed the gospel of righteousness by faith

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<sup>180</sup>Ellen G. White, "A Call to a Deeper Study of the Word," MS 15, 1888, EGWE-AU.

<sup>181</sup>Ibid.

<sup>182</sup>Idem, "Looking Back at Minneapolis," MS 24, 1888, EGWE-AU.

upon a pedestal, equating it to the third angel's message which would eventually become the loud cry. This idea that had remained dormant in Seventh-day Adventist thinking for over four decades continued to receive the authoritative and decisive advocacy of Ellen White well into the twentieth century.<sup>183</sup>

After 1888 the denomination began to better understand Rev 14:12. The words, "here is the patience of the saints: here are they that keep the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus," were invested with new meaning. Previously "the faith of Jesus" had been seen to mean the Bible truths that end-time saints ought to believe. But now the emphasis was on faith as faith, the faith in Jesus whereby we accept salvation.

This new understanding, however, did not undermine the Sabbath and ten commandments but strengthened them. True faith would enable people to appropriate the righteousness of Christ and thereby obey the law as never before. This obedience, this fruit of righteousness, would be entirely Christ's righteousness, essentially needed for preparation for the kingdom of God.

It is not an unreasonable assumption for one to advance that the Seventh-day Adventist version of the

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<sup>183</sup>Ibid. Ellen White exerted much effort to implant the idea that Christ's righteousness was closely connected to the third angel's message. During the 1890s she made some strong comments on the subject that showed the development of the idea in her own mind.

late nineteenth-century holiness revival (for them the latter rain revival) issued from the broadening of their understanding of the theology of righteousness by faith. Thus, readiness for Christ's imminent second advent was seen as two-fold: (1) the proclamation of the "third angel's message" and (2) the preparation of a "holy" life (the "perfecting of the saints") as effected by the righteousness of Christ in the context of loyalty to the Sabbath and of the third angel's message.

Seventh-day Adventists took very seriously the responsibilities related to proclamation and preparation for an imminent second advent. In light of these tasks, they developed a negative reaction against a particular movement in their contemporary world--the labor movement. The final section of this chapter discusses the phenomenon of organized labor and its impact upon Seventh-day Adventist eschatology during the years 1884 to 1888.

#### Organized Labor and Seventh-day Adventist Eschatology, 1884-1888

The Seventh-day Adventist attitude to organized labor up to 1884 revolved around at least three main axes: (1) their view of prophecy; (2) the degree of their agreement with the conservative branch of Protestantism that viewed organized labor as pernicious;<sup>184</sup> (3) the perverse behavior of organized labor itself, notably its

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<sup>184</sup>Outside the time period of this study, the liberal Protestants supported organized labor.

strikes and violence.<sup>185</sup> While Adventist prophetic orientation gave direction to their eschatological thinking as it concerned organized labor, their contemporary context helped to sharpen the focus of their eschatology. Theirs was the opinion that human efforts could not produce lasting solutions to the economic, political, and social problems of the society.

Seventh-day Adventist Attitude toward  
Organized Labor, 1884-1888

Articles in the Review and Herald revealed no basic change from the pre-1884 attitude toward organized labor. An editorial note of February 1884 lamented that "strikes are everywhere" and seemed to rejoice that workers of the Pittsburg glass factories were about to resume work after a seven-month strike.<sup>186</sup>

A few months later a Review editorial expressed repugnance at secret societies, "Old World" communist agents, and trade unions. It warned that "we are indeed sleeping on a volcano" of secret societies "whose very existence is an unrevealed secret," and gave the impression that secret societies, communists, nihilists, and trade unions were all dedicated to the sinister undermining of society. This alleged kinship between

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<sup>185</sup>See pp. 124-29 of this study for the background treatment of Seventh-day Adventist attitude toward organized labor up to 1884.

<sup>186</sup>Editorial, "Domestic," RH 61 (February 26, 1884): 142.

organized labor and these other groups heightened Adventist opposition to it.<sup>187</sup>

Fear of the overthrow of the American government by communists and anarchists seems to have pervaded society generally, along with bitter feelings toward socialists and immigrants. When a bomb exploded killing eleven persons in Chicago's Haymarket Square in May 1886, while anarchist spokesmen addressed a crowd, and a riot followed, the general public concluded that organized labor was as culpable as the anarchists.<sup>188</sup> The Review and Herald drew parallels between the activities of organized labor and "foreign anarchists."<sup>189</sup>

In 1886 G. I. Butler, General Conference president, answered the question, "Is it right for Seventh-day Adventists to unite with unions, 'Knights of Labor,' 'Farmers' Alliance,' etc.?" He replied that "we regard the Scriptures as teaching different principles." Citing 2 Cor 6:14, against being "unequally yoked together with unbelievers," he said it was very unwise for Seventh-day Adventists to become members of labor unions because the life practices of "unbelievers" sharply contrasted with

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<sup>187</sup>[Uriah Smith], "Secret Societies That Are Secret," RH 61 (April 15, 1884): 246. See also, [idem], "The Coming Storm," RH 62 (April 14, 1885): 240; [idem], "Losses by Strikes," RH 63 (June 1, 1886): 343.

<sup>188</sup>Dulles, Labor in America, pp. 124-25.

<sup>189</sup>L. A. S[mith], "A Poor Promise," RH 63 (November 30, 1886): 752.



ethical behavior and spiritual goals of "believers."<sup>190</sup>

During this period, editors of the Signs of the Times were preoccupied with the new emphasis on righteousness by faith and made only rare comments about organized labor. In October 1886, however, an editorial condemned the boycott of the Coast Seamen's Union against the Spreckles Steamship Company of San Francisco for alleged discrimination in hiring. The Eureka branch of the Knights of Labor informed the seamen that sympathy strikes could be expected from lumber workers, builders, carpenters, plasterers, and others. The Signs writer wondered about the suffering families caught by such "poor philosophy" and lamented that such tactics were "the only philosophy known to trade unionism."<sup>191</sup>

Carlos Schwantes has pointed out that nineteenth-century Seventh-day Adventist leaders regarded labor unions not as a defender of the common man but as a threat "to the individual freedom upon which Adventist Protestantism was predicated."<sup>192</sup> A. T. Jones, indeed, expressed this opinion. The "real enemy of the laboring man," he said, "was not the employer, but the tyrannical managers . . . of the unions." The worker was subjected

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<sup>190</sup>G. I. B[utler], "Seventh-day Adventists and Labor Unions," RH 63 (June 22, 1886): 392.

<sup>191</sup>Editorial, "The Philosophy of Trade Unionism," ST 12 (October 21, 1886): 632-33.

<sup>192</sup>Carlos A. Schwantes, "Labor Unions and Seventh-day Adventists: The Formative Years, 1877-1903," AH 4 (Winter 1977): 14.

to "the scheming manipulations of the despotic unions whose beck or nod he binds himself to obey."<sup>193</sup> In 1887 J. H. Waggoner spurned those who mindlessly succumb to the manipulation of trade union officials. He stated:

There is more coerced servility of laborers in the Knights of Labor, trades union, etc., than can be found in the republic under the dominion of capital. Thousands of men are often compelled to leave positions of profit, without any complaint against their employers . . . at the caprice of some "supreme head" or "grand master."<sup>194</sup>

Waggoner's charge of a "coerced servility" and Jones's that the laborer bound himself to every "beck or nod" of labor leaders were serious indictments, implying that the workers rarely reasoned for themselves. Adventist leaders preferred the "dominion of capital," in spite of its faults, for after all "the laboring man must have an employer."<sup>195</sup>

In an earlier article, J. H. Waggoner had castigated the Knights of Labor for what he considered their apparent duplicity in expressing distaste for strikes on one hand, while masterminding strikes on the other. Waggoner contrasted labor violence with widespread belief in the approaching millennium.<sup>196</sup>

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<sup>193</sup>[A. T.] J[ones], "The Enemy of the Workingman," ST 12 (October 28, 1886): 646-47.

<sup>194</sup>J. H. W[aggoner], "A Principle to Be Remembered," AS 2 (September 1887): 66.

<sup>195</sup>[A. T.] J[ones], "The Enemy of the Workingman," ST 12 (October 28, 1886): 647.

<sup>196</sup>J. H. Waggoner, "What Shall the End Be?" ST 13

It would be useful to have the opinion of Ellen White, who was in Europe from August 1885 to August 1887. In any case, she said little about labor unions until the turn of the century.<sup>197</sup> In regard, however, to the laborers' basic yearning for adequate wages, reasonable working conditions, and humane treatment, Ellen White took the side of the oppressed. She decried the problems of poverty in the large cities and counseled church members to reach out to the needy and pay fair wages to their employees.<sup>198</sup>

The attitude of other denominational leaders suggests disregard for the abject poverty and unspeakable misery of the individual laborer. This seeming "unconcern" ostensibly projected an erroneous impression. In

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(March 10, 1887): 152. In this article, Waggoner drew attention to the strikes and violence of 1886 that continued two months into 1887.

<sup>197</sup>It is noted later in this study that Ellen White's view regarding organized labor was similar to that of other Adventist leaders. She counseled church members not to join labor unions. She, however, more than any other authority figure in nineteenth-century Seventh-day Adventism, expressed sympathy for the working classes in their struggles for equity and justice. This concern for the oppressed laborer came out in her writings before 1884 (see Testimonies, 2:156-61). Written first in 1868 under the title, "Oppressing the Hireling," this section in vol. 2 of the Testimonies addressed a Seventh-day Adventist employer, who was underpaying his employees. Inter alia, Ellen White said: "Let the oppressed go free. . . . You have oppressed the hireling in her wages." The "small wages paid . . . [are] all written down in heaven" (2:157).

<sup>198</sup>Ibid.

actual fact, they were not unmindful of the laborers' plight. They loved people so much that they labored hard to prepare them for God's kingdom of glory to be initiated at the second coming. But their vision of the hereafter had priority over the view of the here and now. Chellis has posited that for them "social inequities could never justify organization against established order."<sup>199</sup> The a priori of their mission was spiritual.

Significance of Organized Labor Relative to the  
to the Development of Seventh-day Adventist  
Eschatology, 1884-1888

As was stated earlier, the other-worldly passion of nineteenth-century Seventh-day Adventists motivated them to translate social issues in the world around them into eschatological terms. During the period 1884-1888, organized labor influenced Seventh-day Adventist eschatological thinking. It is of significance that that thinking projected mainly from Adventists' reaction to their social context rather than from their traditional approach--pointing to a specific Bible prophecy.

The logic of the last statement above proceeds from an ironic fact. For example, during the period covered by this section, the leaders and writers of the denomination were silent with regard to biblical passages

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<sup>199</sup>Eugene Chellis, "The Review and Herald and Early Adventist Response to Organized Labor," Spectrum 10 (August 1979): 26.

(like Jas 5:1-8) that distinctly rebuke rich employers who deal unfairly with their employees. The omission is ironic because of the emphatic eschatological thrust of this passage which specifically draws attention to the cries of "the labourers who have reaped down your fields" on account of "the hire [wages] . . . you kept back by fraud." The apostle James invested a supplicatory tone into the appeal of the laborers against the "rich men" or the employers: "The cries of them which have reaped are entered into the ears of the Lord of sabaoth." The passage climaxes on a fervent eschatological note, promising deliverance for the oppressed at the second coming.

Be patient, therefore, brethren, unto the coming of the Lord. Behold, the husbandman waiteth for the precious fruit of the earth, and hath long patience for it, until he receive the early and latter rain.

Be ye also patient; stablish your hearts: for the coming of the Lord draweth nigh.<sup>200</sup>

For Seventh-day Adventists, in later years, this passage of Scripture would become the dominant prophecy concerning the tensions between capital and labor. For example, during 1889 to 1895 (treated in the next chapter of this study), Adventist leaders wrote much about Jas 5:1-8, and related troubles between employer and employee as signs of the imminent second advent of Christ Christ.

The negative reaction of Seventh-day Adventists against organized labor during this period was intrinsically related to their total eschatological point of

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<sup>200</sup>Jas 5:7-8.

view. Their concerns were ethical and spiritual. Butler pointed to a "higher" life, an existence not "yoked together with unbelievers." With their minds set on "things above," a celestial goal, Adventists considered strikes, violence, disorderly conduct, and fighting for adequate wages mundane pursuits, incongruent with Christian principles of love and loyalty.

In recapitulation, three important points have surfaced during the period under study: (1) Seventh-day Adventists had a negative attitude toward organized labor. (2) The literature seems to reveal that some church leaders did not show concern for the laborers struggles for justice. (3) The eschatological thinking of the denomination as it related to organized labor sprang more from an ethical or spiritual reaction against the violent practices of trade unions than from the specific reference to a particular Bible prophecy.

Organized labor had a sort of "reverse" significance in the development of Adventist eschatology from 1884 through 1888. (That is, a movement that was seen as evil raised the consciousness of the church that the end was near.) The interest of the denomination in spiritual things led to a distaste of the strategies of labor unions. Adventists believed that the ten commandments forbid violence. Labor unions were violent. They also believed that prophecy foresaw a general deterioration of

America to the point of official religious violence. So Seventh-day Adventists opposed both sorts of violence: from strikes and from Sunday laws. Their opposition to strikes was eschatological as well as ethical.

Adventists also believed that the spiritual preparation of their lives for the imminent, second advent was paramount. In that instance, the kingdom for which they were preparing would be free from strikes, violence, and disorder. The hopes and dreams of organized labor for a better life for its proteges clashed ethically, in the opinion of Seventh-day Adventists, with the questionable methods that it used for achieving its goals. That paradox served to strengthen a primary view in Seventh-day Adventist thinking that the solutions to social complexities had to be other-worldly solutions. Only at the at the end, at the second advent, would all social problems be solved.

### Summary

This chapter continued a discussion of the three selected factors during the years 1884 to 1888: Sunday legislation, righteousness by faith, and organized labor. In addition, this chapter has attempted to determine what sort of effect these factors had on the development of Seventh-day Adventist eschatology.

It was found that leading thinkers in the Seventh-day Adventist thought translated the crusading

exploits and political ambitions of the NRA into eschatological conclusions. The efforts of the national reformers" to influence Congress to pass national Sunday legislation fitted Adventist interpretation of Rev 13 and 14 as evidence of the approaching end.

Righteousness-by-faith theology challenged standard positions and was ranked with the third angel's message which was central to Seventh-day eschatology. The idea unfolded that preaching righteousness by faith, empowered by the ministry of the Holy Spirit, would usher in the "loud cry of the third angel" and prepare the "harvest of the earth" for the second coming.

With respect to organized labor, the apparent indifference of the denomination toward labor unions and workers' demands reflected less a callousness to human problems than a conviction that the tactics of labor politics were non-Christian. Nineteen-century Adventists looked beyond the immediate social complexities to a trouble-free second advent. Readiness to meet Christ became a priority.

The period from 1884 through 1888 witnessed a growth in Seventh-day Adventist eschatological understanding. The older doctrinal landmarks were not jettisoned, but they were refurbished, expanded, and refocused. Chapter 4 examines the period from 1889 through 1895.



CHAPTER IV

SIGNIFICANT FACTORS THAT AFFECTED THE DEVELOPMENT  
OF SEVENTH-DAY ADVENTIST ESCHATOLOGY  
1889-1895

Adventists of the late nineteenth century were obsessed with the end of the world. The intrinsic elements of this obsession--crisis and hope--though diametrically opposed, were essential to Adventist eschatological understanding. They viewed the crisis (specifically in the context of Sunday legislation with its wide-ranging ramifications, including persecution) as the forerunner of the hope--the glorious second advent of Christ.

This chapter continues the thrust of chapter 3 in examining the three factors selected for this study: Sunday legislation, righteousness by faith, and organized labor. It notes the significant contribution of these factors for the sharpening and development of Adventist eschatological thought from 1889 through 1895.

Between 1889 and 1895, proponents of a national Sunday law introduced several bills--and were favored with a Supreme Court opinion that supported the

Christian-nation concept. Many Adventists ascribed considerable importance to that opinion as well as to the vote of Congress to close the World's Fair on Sundays. Both the opinion and the decision were made in 1892. The post-1888 period was a turning point in Adventist theological history. In chapter 3, the 1888 debate on the law in Galatians had set the stage for a new emphasis on righteousness by faith. In this chapter, the treatment of righteousness by faith commands a central position, and two subjects that were related to the developing doctrine are highlighted: the latter rain revival of 1893, and the teaching on the nature of Christ. The nature-of-Christ theology peaked in 1895, and its implications reached into the twentieth century. With regard to organized labor, Adventists maintained their negative attitude toward trade unions. Meanwhile, the denomination linked Jas 5 to the struggle between capital and labor and underscored the eschatological connection.

Sunday Legislation and Seventh-day Adventist  
Eschatology, 1889-1895

The National Reform Association (NRA), with unabating zeal, kept up the pressure for Sunday legislation between 1889 and 1895. The tenacity of the national reformers, however, was matched by the stubborn resistance of A. T. Jones and his Adventist colleagues. The work of the denomination through its National Religious

Liberty Association (NRLA) to impede the passage of a Sunday law receives more attention below.

The casual observer today has difficulty grasping why there was such an insatiable desire on the part of Protestantism to secure a national Sunday law. The concept of America as a Christian nation undergirded the struggles of the NRA, the American Sabbath Union, and their allies.

#### The National Reformers and the Christian-Nation Concept

The 1889-1895 period witnessed a resurgence of the Christian-nation concept. Written opinions of the United States Supreme court supported it. An 1844 decision stated that Christianity was part of the common law.<sup>1</sup> In 1889, in striking down Mormon polygamy, the court stated that "The organization of a community for the spread and practice of polygamy is, in a measure, a return to barbarism. It is contrary to the spirit of Christianity. . . ." <sup>2</sup>

In 1892 in another case, Anson Phelps Stokes has recognized the written opinion of Justice David J. Brewer on behalf of the Court as "one of the most authoritative

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<sup>1</sup>Vidal v. Girard (1844), [U. S. Supreme Court], 43, cited in Anson Phelps Stokes, Church and State in the United States, 3 volumes (New York: Harper and Brothers Publishers, 1950), 3:570.

<sup>2</sup>U. S. Supreme Court, October Term, 1889, p. 49, cited in Stokes, Church and State, 3:570.

statements of the fundamental importance of religion in in general and Christianity in particular in the American State."<sup>3</sup> The Court's decision on February 29, 1892, proceeded from the case of the Church of the Holy Trinity vs. the United States in which the court decided to exempt incorporated religious societies from a February 1885 act of Congress that prohibited the "importation and migration of foreigners and aliens." As such, the Court allowed the Church of the Holy Trinity to import a rector.<sup>4</sup> The decision itself supported the idea of the separation of church and state, but the Christian-nation opinion angered some organizations. The Court noted:

If we pass beyond these matters to a view of American life as expressed by its laws, its business, its customs and its society, we find everywhere a clear recognition of the same truth. . . . These, and many other matters which might be noticed, add a volume of unofficial declarations to the mass of organic utterances that this is a Christian nation.<sup>5</sup>

Adventists, as might be expected, reacted vigorously to the Holy Trinity opinion and the interpretations placed upon it by the Sunday-law proponents. Adventists, it appeared, linked the Christian-nation idea to another view that was held by the national reformers--the idea of the Christian nation as a theocracy receiving strong

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<sup>3</sup>Ibid, 3:570-71.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid.

<sup>5</sup>U. S. Supreme Court, October Term, 1892, p. 465, cited in Stokes, Church and State, 3:572.

support from the national reformers. Denominational leaders (A. T. Jones in particular) rejected the idea.<sup>6</sup> The stage became set for determined opposition.

Peeved by the written opinion of the Supreme Court that "this is a Christian nation," Jones devoted an entire booklet to the subject.<sup>7</sup> He was not peeved that the Court allowed the Trinity Corporation of New York City to import a rector from England. He concurred that the decision itself was "perfectly proper"<sup>8</sup> but protested that the Court went further when it "needed to have gone no further." It did wrong to affirm that "this is a Christian nation." Such a dictum, he said, stood "in open contradiction to the specific terms of the

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<sup>6</sup>See pp. 149-51 above for some of Jones's views against the reestablishment of a theocracy. During the 1889-1895 period Adventist writers consistently rejected the idea of a theocracy and the concept of a Christian nation. See "Christ's Kingdom Not of This World," AS 5 (January 30, 1890): 37; M. C. Wilcox, "Christianizing the Government," ST 16 (February 10, 1890): 87-88; J. O. Corliss, "A State Cannot Be a Theocracy," AS 7 (January 14, 1892): 10; (January 21, 1892): 18; (January 28, 1892): 27; C. P. B[ollman], "Prophecy Against National Reform," AS 7 (February 4, 1892): 34, 35.

<sup>7</sup>A. T. Jones, Appeal from the U. S. Supreme Court Decision Making This 'A Christian Nation:' A Protest (New York: International Religious Liberty Association, 1893).

<sup>8</sup>Based on the principle that "the lawmaker is the law," the Supreme Court reversed the decision. The court said that the original intent of Congress when the bill was passed applied to the "laborer" or "labor or service," intended to mean manual, and not professional service. Further, the original intent of the law was to discourage unscrupulous "get-rich-quick" employers from importing cheap labor to the disadvantage of the American laborer (*ibid.*, pp. 27-29).

Constitution,"<sup>9</sup> and opened a door that could later admit a series of Sunday-legislation measures. The Christian-nation opinion definitely strengthened the boldness of the NRA.

Stokes observed that while positive effects accrued from the "Christian origin and fundamentally Christian tradition of the United States," it was also true that the Christian-nation concept became an excuse for the bolstering of extreme views on some issues, "such as Sunday observance laws."<sup>10</sup> A case in point had to do with the World's Fair to be held in Chicago in 1893 (a discussion of which follows below). Bristling with confidence after Justice Brewer's opinion, the American Sabbath Union pressured congressional committees to withhold federal appropriations unless the managers of the fair agreed to close it every Sunday.

As Adventists feared, Sunday legislation supported by the Christian-nation idea became an excuse for the persecution of Sabbath keepers. Chapter 3 has already noted how Seventh-day Adventists were taken to court and convicted for the performance of "secular" work on Sunday, especially in Arkansas and Tennessee. Illustrative of the continuation of this experience is the perturbing example of R. M. King.

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<sup>9</sup>Ibid., p. 29, 30.

<sup>10</sup>Stokes, Church and State, 3:572-73.

### Sunday Sacredness: The King Case

William Blakeley has observed that "The Celebrated King Case" attracted country-wide notice.<sup>11</sup> R. M. King, a Seventh-day Adventist, was arrested in Tennessee on June 23, 1889, on the charge of working in his own cornfield on a Sunday. The defendant appeared before the justice of the peace on July 6, 1889. He was found guilty and ordered to pay \$12.85 fine plus costs.<sup>12</sup>

Defenders of Sunday sacredness continued the harassment, in due course reporting King and two other Sabbatarians to the grand juries of their respective counties. Indictments were made for laboring on Sunday. On March 6, 1890, King's second trial took place at Troy, Obion County, before Justice Swiggert. "King was convicted and fined \$75 and costs."<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>11</sup>Blakeley, American State Papers, pp. 334-60.

<sup>12</sup>R. M. King, "The Tennessee Trials," RH 91 (May 26, 1891): 324. King stated that he and his wife were baptized into the Seventh-day Adventist Church in the Spring of 1884. They had been Methodists. With regard to his problems with the Tennessee Sunday law, he said in 1891 that he had "had four state warrants served" on him and that he "had been fined \$149.90" in all for costs and fines; "all this for keeping the commandments of God." As a model jail inmate, he stated that the jailer "let me have the keys, so I could go in and out of the jail when I pleased." He testified that he had had "many proofs that the hand of God was with" him. See also, Blakeley, American State Papers, pp. 334-38; A. T. Jones, 'Due Process of Law' and The Divine Right of Dissent (New York: The National Religious Liberty Association, 1892), p. 5.

<sup>13</sup>Jones, 'Due Process of Law,' p. 6.

Colonel T. E. Richardson, the defense attorney, appealed the decision and "by writ of habeas corpus" carried the case to the Circuit Court of the United States for the Western District of Tennessee. The ground of his appeal was that King had been cheated of his liberty "without due process of law" as required by the Fourteenth Amendment.<sup>14</sup>

The two-judge appellate court upheld the decision of the lower court. A. T. Jones commented:

The opinion was written solely by Judge Hammond, and was filed in Memphis the afternoon of August 1, 1891. It was printed in full in the Memphis Appeal-Avalanche the next day, Sunday, August 2. In the introduction it said: "Judge Hammond says that while he is not authorized to say that Judge Jackson concurs in his opinion, which he has not seen, he does concur in the result and the ground of the decision."<sup>15</sup>

The appellate court did not argue whether the law itself was lawful, but whether the procedure used in the lower court was regular--and decided that it had been. There was no breach of the fourteenth Amendment, it said.<sup>16</sup>

Even outside of the Adventist community, many persons sympathized with King and were uncomfortable with the decision. One writer observed that the case had attracted the "attention of the nation," that newspapers

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<sup>14</sup>Ibid.

<sup>15</sup>Ibid.

<sup>16</sup>Ibid., p. 7. See also, L. A. S[mith], "Decision of the King Case," RH 68 (August 11, 1891): 504-5.



were discussing it, and that the "public [was] ... giving it serious thought."<sup>17</sup> Several articles appeared in the Review and Herald, of course, in the American Sentinel, and in other Adventist periodicals concerning the case and other cases involving the indictment of other persons.<sup>18</sup> Jones devoted a nine-part series in the American Sentinel to the issue.<sup>19</sup> In the fourth article

<sup>17</sup>O. A. Tait, "Some Important Points Concerning the Decision in the King Case," RH 68 (August 11, 1891): 507; R. F. Cottrell, "Persecution of Believers Affords Scope for Their Testimony," RH 68 (October 27, 1891): 658.

<sup>18</sup>See the following articles: "Fined Again," AS 5 (August 28, 1890): 270; A. F. Ballenger, "The King Case," AS 5 (December 11, 1890): 390; C. P. B[ollman], "Another Tennessee Case," AS 7 (February 18, 1892): 49, 50; W. H. M[cKee], "Some More Tennessee Cases," AS 7 (March 3, 1892): 65-66; A. O. T[aitt], "More Arrests in Tennessee," RH 69 (May 17, 1892): 320; C. P. B[ollman], "Seventh-day Adventists in the Chain-Gang," AS 7 (August 18, 1892): 251; Walcott H. Littlejohn, "Babylon and the Plague of Blood," RH 69 (October 11, 1892): 627-28; "Religious Persecution in Tennessee," ST 21 (August 15, 1895): 505. This article, an editorial, quoted the Milwaukee Daily News of July 6, 1895, as stating that it was "a disgrace to 19th century civilization that such a condition exists," and that such a judgment "belies the claim that this country is as yet the home of the free."

<sup>19</sup>This series ran in the American Sentinel from October 8 through December 24, 1891. The titles of the articles give an idea of Jones's comprehensive treatment of the question: (1) "What Is the Public Opinion in Tennessee?" 6 (Oct. 8): 305-7; (2) "The Divine Right of Dissent," 6 (Oct. 29): 329-31; (3) "No Religious Legislation," 6 (Nov. 6): 337-38 (Jones discussed his view in this article regarding the violation of the Fourteenth Amendment in relation to his understanding that King was deprived of his liberty "without due process of law"); (4) "Judge Hammond and Seventh-day Adventists," 6 (Nov. 19): 353-55; (5) "Is This a Prerogative of the U. S. Courts?" 6 (Nov. 26): 361-62; (6) "What God Has Enjoined," 6 (Dec. 3): 369-71; (7) "The Rights of the People," 6 (Dec. 10): 377-78; (8) "The Logic of Judge

of his series, he rankled at what he considered an imposition of Judge Hammond's "own views." The judge had expressed in his written opinion, as quoted by Jones, that "the petitioner cannot shelter himself just yet, behind the doctrine of religious freedom."<sup>20</sup> What did "just yet," mean? Such evasiveness angered Jones.

King's case was eventually appealed to the Supreme Court of the United States but was never argued there, King having died (on November 10, 1891) before it could be brought up.<sup>21</sup>

Some Adventists felt that King's death was an intervention of Providence. They feared open strife and did not want to hazard persecution in case of an adverse decision. Jones, along with his ardent supporters, interpreted the scenario differently. George R. Knight has stated that Jones, "given his heroic and abrasive stand against Sunday laws," did not agree with such "'fearful' and 'cowardly' thinking."<sup>22</sup>

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Hammond's Position," 6 (Dec. 17): 385-86; (9) "Whence Came It All?" 6 (Dec. 24): 393-94.

<sup>20</sup>A. T. Jones, "Judge Hammond and Seventh-day Adventists," AS 6 (November 19, 1891): 353.

<sup>21</sup>"Death of Bro. R. M. King," RH 68 (November 17, 1891): 720. L. A. Callicott, in a letter to the Review dated November 12, 1891, told of King's last moments.

<sup>22</sup>A. F. Ballenger, "The Persecutions in Tennessee," GCB, February 21, 1893, p. 324; "The Influence of the King Trial," RH 69 (February 16, 1892): 107; Knight, From 1888 to Apostasy, p. 76.

As indicated above, other Sabbatarians besides King were arraigned, some of whom were jailed and even sentenced to chain gangs.<sup>23</sup> Many who accused the Sabbatarians, performed secular labor themselves on Sunday, yet they were not arrested. Judges were transparently partial. They ruled as inadmissible all facts presented by the defense counsel to show the "animus" of prosecution witnesses, especially evidence that some Sunday-keepers had also done secular work on Sundays.<sup>24</sup> The fundamental issues that lay at the root of the arrests appeared to be religious prejudice, intolerance, and fanaticism. The crowning idea, of course, was that the Sunday-law advocates felt that they were safely sheltered

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<sup>23</sup>In May 1892 five Seventh-day Adventists--J. H. Dortch, J. Moon, S. M. Lowry, Jas. Stem, and W. D. Ward--of Springville, Tennessee, were indicted by the Grand Jury at Paris, the county seat. The first four were convicted (A. F. Ballenger, "The Persecutions in Tennessee," GCB, February 21, 1893, p. 324). They were given the choice of either paying the fine or being incarcerated. They chose to go jail, reasoning that paying the fine would have been tantamount to an admission of guilt. The incident created a stir beyond Adventist confines. See "Seventh-day Adventists in Court," AS 7 (June 1892): 179; "In Bonds," RH 69 (June 14, 1892): 384; "Prison Experience," RH (June 28, 1892): 416. See also, Uriah Smith, Our Country: The Marvel of Nations (Battle Creek, Mich.: Review and Herald Publishing Company, 1901), pp. 279-85; Everett Dick, "The Cost of Discipleship: Seventh-day Adventists and Tennessee Sunday Laws in the 1890's," Adventist Heritage 11 (Spring 1986): 26-32.

<sup>24</sup>Some Sunday-keepers hired laborers to do their work on Sunday. Two prosecution witnesses admitted that they were driving a cow on the same Sunday that they made the report against King. One witness went to check his own corn-field. See, Blakeley, American State Papers, pp. 342-48.

under the Christian-nation concept. The continued harrassment of Adventists revealed that the Sunday crusaders feared the potential of a challenge inherent in another day for worship.

The promoters of the Christian-nation idea had tasted religious, and to some extent, political power. In their opposition to Sabbath-keepers, they virtually attempted to hold an idea captive, and to suppress, or to obliterate if possible, allegiance to another day. But Adventists, convinced of their prophetic origin, shocked their inflexible assailants with stubborn resistance. The ready acceptance of a jail term in preference to paying fines by five Adventists in 1892 stirred the conscience of the public, won sympathy, and actually yielded some converts.<sup>25</sup>

In the face of what took place, therefore, one cannot dismiss the determined reaction of late nineteenth-century Adventists as proof of a martyr complex. Adventists saw the situation as a part of the larger biblical, eschatological picture, and as a link in the chain of crises that, according to Bible prophecy, the church had to endure before it could realize the "blessed hope"--the second advent of Jesus Christ.

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<sup>25</sup>O. A. T[ait], "Good News from Tennessee," RH 69 (August 9, 1892): 512.

National Sunday Legislation:  
Attempts for Its Passage

The previous chapter treated the Blair Sunday rest bill of 1888. During the years 1889-1895, the national reformers continued their determined attempt to secure the passage of a national Sunday law. This section discusses Blair's second national Sunday bill of 1889, the Breckenridge bill of 1890, and the District of Columbia ice bill of 1892. In addition to these three bills, another issue is treated: the subtle effort of the Sunday proponents to manipulate the government's appropriation to the Columbian Exposition.

Just a few days after Blair had introduced his first Sunday bill in May 1888, he proposed an amendment aimed at Christianizing the nation's public school systems.<sup>26</sup> Jones appeared before the Senate Committee on Education and Labor on February 22, 1889, and testified against the amendment in behalf of the Seventh-day Adventist Church. He cited Judge Bennett's decision that "the plaintiffs . . . must not forget that other people have consciences." Jones himself rebutted by saying that "without hesitation, . . . we say [that] the conscience of the majority must give way." The proposed amendment failed to gain the required vote in the Senate.<sup>27</sup> This

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<sup>26</sup>A. T. Jones, Religion and the Public Schools (Oakland, Calif.: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1889).

<sup>27</sup>Idem, "A Representative Decision," AS 5

second defeat, however, did not stop Blair in his effort to assist the Sunday-legislation forces to get success.

The Second National  
Sunday Bill

On December 9, 1889, Senator Blair introduced his second national Sunday bill. The title of the new measure was "A bill to secure to the people the privileges of rest and religious worship, free from disturbance by others, on the first day of the week."<sup>28</sup> The new bill was stripped of the dominant religious cast of the first bill--the Sunday rest bill. But Jones observed that the second bill was essentially the same as the first, and that the modification of the title was "utterly disingenuous."<sup>29</sup>

Jones took strong exception to a clause in "Section VI" stating that

the provisions of this act [shall not] be construed to prohibit or to sanction labor on Sunday by individuals who conscientiously believe in and observe any other day than Sunday as the Sabbath or a day of religious worship, provided such labor be not done to the disturbance of others.<sup>30</sup>

To monitor those who "conscientiously believe in and

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February 27, 1890): 67, 68; idem, "A Representative Decision: What Are the Rights of Conscience?" AS 5 (March 13, 1890): 81-82.

<sup>28</sup>Idem, "The New Blair Bill," AS 5 (January 9, 1890): 9-11; idem, Civil Government, pp. 68-70.

<sup>29</sup>Idem, Civil Government, pp. 80-81.

<sup>30</sup>Idem, "The New Blair Bill," AS 5 (January 9, 1890): 11.

observe any other day than Sunday," said Jones, is completely outside the province of government. Such an assignment, he continued, would be tantamount to dictating delicate essentials of religious worship and, in consequence, would be contrary to the First Amendment. He argued that the clause in question was added "to checkmate the opposition" and disarm them.<sup>31</sup>

Despite the defeat of Blair's Sunday bill, the determination of the proposers of Sunday legislation did not slacken their efforts. Another Sunday bill was brought before Congress in 1890.

#### The Breckenridge Bill

The Breckenridge Sunday bill for the District of Columbia was introduced into the House of Representatives on January 6, 1890. (It was introduced again in 1892 by Senator Morse, and in 1894 by Senator Gallenger.<sup>32</sup>) The present discussion deals only with the first presentation. On February 18, 1890, Representative Breckenridge of Kentucky piloted the bill before the House Committee on the District of Columbia.<sup>33</sup>

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<sup>31</sup>Ibid; idem, Civil Government, pp. 80, 81.

<sup>32</sup>U.S. Congress, House, A Bill to Prevent Persons from Being Forced to Labor on Sunday in the District of Columbia. H. R. 3854, 51st Cong., 1st sess., January 6, 1890, Congressional Record, 21:403; A. T. Jones, "The Breckenridge-Morse District Sunday Bill," AS 9 (May 10, 1894): 149-51; (May 17, 1894): 157-58; idem, "Another Sunday Bill," ST 20 (March 12, 1894): 304.

<sup>33</sup>A. T. J[ones], "The Breckenridge Sunday Bill,"

The title of the proposed legislation was "A Bill to Prevent Persons from Being Forced to Labor on Sunday."<sup>34</sup> For violation of the measure, a fine of "not more than one hundred dollars for every such offense" was suggested. Exempted from prosecution were "any person or persons who conscientiously believe in and observe any other day of the week than Sunday as a day of rest."<sup>35</sup> Saturday-worshipping opposers of the bill, of course, were suspicious of that seemingly charitable exemption clause. It was reminiscent of a similar exception in Blair's national Sunday bills.<sup>36</sup>

Although the Breckenridge bill was not essentially a national bill, it had the potential to wield a national influence because it had to do with the District of Columbia. Some of the advocates of the bill argued that unlike most of the states, the District had no Sunday law. In his article, "The District of Columbia Has a

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AS 5 (January 23, 1890): 25-27; E. J. W[aggoner], "A Sunday Law for the District of Columbia," ST 16 (February 10, 1890): 86. The bill was reintroduced in 1892. C. P. Bollman noted that the content and spirit of the 1892 bill did not differ from the 1890 bill. Above all considerations, he stated that the title of the bill was misleading. See "The Breckenridge Sunday Bill," AS 7 (March 31, 1892): 97-98.

<sup>34</sup>Congressional Record, 21:403.

<sup>35</sup>Ibid.

<sup>36</sup>Pettibone has drawn attention to the fact that the second Blair bill and the first Breckenridge bill were considered simultaneously. See, "Caesar's Sabbath," p. 14 (n. 22).



Sunday Law," Jones strongly negated that assumption. He stated that the colony of Maryland had had a Sunday law since 1723. When Maryland became a state, "the same laws continued." Subsequently, when a portion of Maryland was set off to be the District of Columbia, the statute enacted by Congress (Sec. 92) stated that "the laws of the State of Maryland . . . continue in force within the District." The problem, as Jones observed, was that Sunday law advocates realized that the old Sunday law was difficult to enforce, and this is why they wanted a new one.<sup>37</sup>

Like the other bills before it, the Breckenridge bill aroused strong opposition from some organizations. And like the other bills, it too went down to defeat.

At the February 18, 1890, hearing on the bill, an official of the Knights of Labor, Millard F. Hobbs, shocked W. F. Crafts and his colleagues of the American Sabbath Union by stating that the Knights were "virtually opposed" to the bill. His statement was the very opposite of what Crafts and his associates had said about the "poor workingmen who are so cruelly oppressed" on account of working on Sunday.<sup>38</sup>

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<sup>37</sup>A. T. Jones, "The District of Columbia Has a Sunday Law," AS 5 (February 13, 1890): 49-50.

<sup>38</sup>Idem, "A Hearing on the Breckenridge Sunday Bill," AS 5 (February 27, 1890): 65-66.

Adventist Resistance to  
Sunday Legislation

The Blair and Breckenridge bills stimulated Adventists to unleash their most impressive opposition yet. Jones and J. O. Corliss appeared before the Senate Committee on Education and Labor, and Adventists organized a mammoth petition campaign against the Blair legislation that yielded almost half a million signatures. Supporters of the Blair bills, without any prick of conscience for erroneously claiming the support of seven million Roman Catholics based on the signature of Cardinal Gibbons, Archbishop of Baltimore, accused the 26,000 Adventists with inflating their list. The American Sentinel replied that nearly all their signers were non-Adventists.<sup>39</sup> The petition stated clearly that "adult residents of the United States" were invited to sign.<sup>40</sup> Adventist opposition probably helped to send the bills down to defeat.

Encouraged by the defeat of the Blair bills, Adventists staged a repeat performance in opposing the Breckenridge bill and the ice bills for the District of Columbia. Waggoner, for instance, mocked the clause in

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<sup>39</sup>O. A. Olsen, "Opening Address, GCB, October 18, 1889, p. 7; "General Conference Proceedings," GCB, October 21, 1889, p. 24; Blakeley, State Papers, pp. 84-85; E. J. W[aggoner], "That Petition Again," AS 4 (June 5, 1889): 149.

<sup>40</sup>E. J. Waggoner, "That Petition Again," GCB, January 29, 1891, p. 39.

the Breckenridge bill that exempted "any person or persons who conscientiously believe in and observe any other day of the week." "It amounts to nothing," Waggoner argued. Even if the bill were able to get the approval of both houses, the exemption would be a "nullity." Throughout history "nobody ever heard of a Sunday law being enforced, when it had an exemption clause."<sup>41</sup>

Bristling with confidence Adventists organized a "citizens meeting" in Washington to oppose the Breckenridge bill. They distributed eight thousand handbills and eight hundred post-cards and extended personal invitations to lawyers, representatives of the press, leading clergymen, and prominent members of the Women's Christian Temperance Union. About six hundred persons came out to the meeting. A popular attorney, A. A. Birney, in his opening remarks as chairman pointed out that the authorities would find it difficult to distinguish "works of necessity" from other works; and charged that attempting to distinguish the "conscientious" believer "would be akin to the work of the Inquisition."<sup>42</sup> Jones was the principal speaker; and the

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<sup>41</sup>E. J. W[aggoner], "A Sunday Law for the District of Columbia," ST 16 (February 10, 1890): 86. See also, W. H. McKee, "District of Columbia: Progress of Sunday Agitation," RH 67 (February 18, 1890): 108.

<sup>42</sup>J. O. Corliss, "Citizens Meeting in Washington," RH 67 (February 4, 1890): 74. The article supplies no date for the meeting. In view of the fact, however, that this article is dated February 4, it is reasonable to assume that the meeting was held some time in January.

Washington Critic carried a report that "a clear-voiced, scholarly-looking man, opposed the bill" in an "eloquent and analytical" address. Leaders of the denomination felt satisfied that the meeting was a success, giving much prominence to their work in the city.<sup>43</sup>

On February 18, 1890, Jones again teamed up with Corliss to represent the denomination before the House Committee on the District of Columbia. They repeated their arguments concerning the stark unconstitutionality of the proposed legislation and asserted that the veiled intention of the bill was to make it unlawful for any person or corporation to perform or influence the performing of any secular work on Sunday.<sup>44</sup>

The District of  
Columbia Ice bill

An ice bill was introduced into Congress for the District of Columbia in 1892,<sup>45</sup> although all of the ice dealers in the District did not want to close on Sundays.

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<sup>43</sup>Washington Critic, quoted in J. O. Corliss, "Citizens Meeting in Washington," RH 67 (February 10, 1890): 86.

<sup>44</sup>A. T. Jones, "A Hearing on the Breckenridge Sunday Bill," AS 5 (February 27, 1890): 65-66. See also, "A Sunday-Rest Bill Hearing," ST 16 (March 17, 1890): 167-68; "The Breckenridge Sunday Bill," AS 5 (January 23, 1890): 25-27; [Editorial], RH 67 (Jan. 21, 1890): 40.

<sup>45</sup>U.S. Congress, Senate, A Bill to Prevent the Sale or Delivery of Ice within the District of Columbia on the Sabbath Day, Commonly Known as Sunday. S. 2994, 52nd. Cong., 1st. sess., 25 April 1892, Congressional Record 23:3607, 4586, 6408.

Protestant churches seized the opportunity to capitalize on the dispute. On Sunday, April 17, 1892, a "special service in behalf of icemen was held in the Central Presbyterian Church" with the announced purpose "to prevent persons from being forced to labor on Sunday."<sup>46</sup>

With the help of churchmen, two bills were drawn up and introduced into the House of Representatives. According to the Congressional Record,

Mr. McMillan (by request) introduced a bill (S. 2994) to prevent the sale or delivery of ice within the District of Columbia on the Sabbath day, commonly known as Sunday; which was read twice by its title, and referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.<sup>47</sup>

On the same day, a petition was noted in the Record:

By Mr. Hemphill: Petition of drivers and employes [sic] of the different ice companies in the District of Columbia, asking the prohibition of the delivery and sale of ice in the District of Columbia on the Sabbath day, and referred to the Committee on the District of Columbia.<sup>48</sup>

The penalties suggested for violating the proposed legislation ranged from \$25 to \$50. Curiously, the bill classed ice with whisky as mala prohibita. The first bill passed both House and Senate with an amendment

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<sup>46</sup>O. A. T[ait], "Another Sunday Bill for the District of Columbia," RH 69 (May 10, 1892): 295; W. H. M[cKee], "Another Sunday Bill in Congress," AS 7 (May 12, 1892): 146.

<sup>47</sup>Congressional Record, 23:3607; W. H. M[cKee], "Another Sunday Bill in Congress," AS 7 (May 12, 1892): 146.

<sup>48</sup>Congressional Record, 23:3607.

to allow ice sales between 7:00 and 9:00 a.m., and between 5:00 and 6:00 p.m. The second bill passed the House but failed to pass the Senate.<sup>49</sup>

The World's Columbian Exposition

In 1893 the city of Chicago was the venue for the "International Exposition to commemorate the discovery of America by Christopher Columbus," and to mark four centuries of progress. The quadri-centennial, also referred to in literature as "The World's Fair," was the "culmination of years of planning."<sup>50</sup> The United States government invited participation from the international community.

In this seemingly enormous undertaking--"the greatest enterprise of modern times," noted Trumbull White and Wm. Igleheart, the history of its achievements is a "record of magnitudes."<sup>51</sup> George R. Davis, the director-general of the exposition, observed that

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<sup>49</sup>Ibid., 23:4586; Pettibone, "Caesar's Sabbath," p. 14 (n. 24). No evidence was discovered to show that the first bill was signed into law by the President.

<sup>50</sup>Trumbull White, and Wm. Igleheart, The Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893, with an Introduction by George R. Davis (Philadelphia: World Publishing Company, 1893), p. 41.

<sup>51</sup>Ibid., pp. 12, 77. For a useful study on the World's Fair through a work that refers to the exposition "as a quintessential event of the times," see David F. Burg, Chicago's White City of 1893 (Lexington, Ky: The University Press of Kentucky, 1976).

the revelations of the World's Fair have already corrected many erroneous international opinions. The best thought, the most advanced methods of all countries in science, literature, reform, education, government, morals, philanthropy, jurisprudence--indeed, all those things which contribute to the progress, prosperity and peace of mankind--are exhibited in the Exposition itself, or discussed in its Auxilliary Congresses.<sup>52</sup>

Only superlatives seemed appropriate to describe what took place at Jackson Park in Chicago in 1893.

Meanwhile the NRA and other crusaders for a national Sunday law were lobbying Congress to provide financial subsidies only on condition that the controllers closed the gates on Sundays. They got a bill introduced into Congress on January 5, 1892, "to prohibit the opening of the exhibition or any exposition on Sunday, where appropriations of the United States are expended."<sup>53</sup>

That stark religio-partisan demand created quite a furor. The Illinois legislature, the city of Chicago, organizers of the World's Fair, and sections of the general public as well as Sabbatarians, vigorously opposed the bill; but the Sunday law advocates pressed their cause and finally scored a victory of sorts. After several hearings before the World's Fair Committee of the

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<sup>52</sup>George R. Davis, Introduction to The Columbian Exposition, by Trumbul White and Wm. Igleheart (Philadelphia: World Publishing Company, 1893), p. 19.

<sup>53</sup>"Sunday Bill," RH 69 (January 12, 1892): 27. The closing of businesses on Sunday in several states had become a normal occurrence by that time.

House, Adventist religious liberty leaders had to report that in May 1892 the House voted for the proviso and that in July the Senate concurred.<sup>54</sup> On August 5, 1892, the bill became law when it was signed by President Benjamin Harrison.

In spite of the law, however, the gates of the exposition were "closed [only] three or four Sundays."<sup>55</sup> The Illinois legislature received a court injunction against its enforcement. In any case, the Congressional storm around the bill delayed its passage (as we have seen) until August 5, 1892, by which date the fair had already been open every day of the week for three months. (It opened on May 1, and continued for six months.)<sup>56</sup>

Adventist Opposition to  
the Sunday Closing Bill

The NRLA sent four representatives to the Congressional hearing held on April 5, 1892. They were Allen Moon, of Chicago; W. H. McKee, of New York (at that time associate editor of the American Sentinel); G. E.

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<sup>54</sup>Editorial, "Vote Taken in Congress," AS 7 (June 16, 1892): 185; L. A. S[mith], "Congress on Sunday-Closing of the World Fair," RH 69 (July 19, 1892): 456-57; White and Igleheart, Columbian Exposition, p. 44.

<sup>55</sup>A. T. Jones, The Two Republics Or Rome and the United States (Battle Creek, Mich.: Review and Herald Publishing Company, [1896]), p. 804. (The 1896 edition of this book still carries the 1891 copyright.)

<sup>56</sup>"News Notes," ST 19 (August 7, 1893): 623. The writer expressed the opinion that "the Fair [had] become a kind of shuttle-cock between the courts."



Fifield, of Massachusetts; and Lewis Abrahams, a lawyer from Washington, D.C.<sup>57</sup> Elliot F. Shepard, who spoke first in behalf of the American Sabbath Union and the NRA objected to the presence of groups that opposed the bill. The committee chairman overruled Shepard's objection.<sup>58</sup>

The NRLA, which had made prior arrangements with the chairman to include their case on the agenda,<sup>59</sup> held tenaciously to their central point: that Congress was prevented by the Constitution from creating a Sunday law and from giving eminence to one day above another. Fifield said that he appeared before the committee mainly to oppose "the right of Congress to touch" the matter because it was "a religious question." He noted that religion was unabashedly paramount among the proposers.<sup>60</sup> As shown above, Adventists supported their cause by gathering thousands of signatures for a petition that opposed the closing the fair on Sundays.<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>57</sup>W. H. M[cKee], "Congressional Hearings," AS 7 (April 21, 1892): 123-24.

<sup>58</sup>Ibid. Shepard based his argument on the Christian Nation concept, and the decision of Mr. Justice Brewer that was given in the Church of the Holy Trinity v. The United States. He was so obsessed with the Christian nation idea that he led himself to believe that the committee would decide the issue in favor of himself and his colleagues.

<sup>59</sup>Ibid.

<sup>60</sup>Ibid.

<sup>61</sup>The petition, sent to the House and Senate, strongly objected to Congress "committing the government

A. T. Jones appeared before the Select Committee on the Columbian Exposition and even had an interview with President Harrison to discuss the possibility of a veto; but the Sunday closing bill had been designed as part of a large appropriation bill, and vetoing any part of which would have involved vetoing the whole.<sup>62</sup>

The virtual non-closure of the fair on Sundays in no way erased the perception of the law as unconstitutional. Seventh-day Adventists, as we shall see, also perceived the law as having eschatological significance.

The National Religious  
Liberty Association

Roots of the NRLA reach back to December 1888, when the General Conference Committee organized a "Press Committee" to oppose the Blair legislation, through "the dissemination of general information to the public on the question of civil and religious liberty."<sup>63</sup>

On July 21, 1889, the Press Committee became the NRLA with an initial membership of one hundred and ten.<sup>64</sup>

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to a course of religious legislation." See "Editorial," AS 7 (September 1, 1982): 265-66.

<sup>62</sup>A. T. Jones, "Third Angel's Message.--No. 2," GCB, January 30, 1893, pp. 39-52; W. A. Spicer to H. P. Hosler, December 15, 1892, cited in Knight, From 1888 to Apostasy, p. 78.

<sup>63</sup>SDAE, 1976 ed., p. 1161.

<sup>64</sup>"General Conference Proceedings," GCB, October 25, 1889, pp. 75-79. The association was later called

The first president, C. Eldridge, in his keynote address, spoke with concern about the current threats to the "liberty of conscience" and the erosion of the demarcation between church and state in this "land of boasted freedom."<sup>65</sup>

The objectives of the association, as expressed in its constitution, were

to educate the public mind, by means of platform and press, in the relations that should exist between the church and the state; to protect the rights of conscience, and to maintain a total separation between religion and civil government.<sup>66</sup>

The association promised to "oppose all religious legislation of the civil government."<sup>67</sup> W. A. Colcord contrasted the philosophy of the NRLA with that of the NRA and the American Sabbath Union, which, he said, were "directly subversive of civil and religious liberty." On the other hand the NRLA called "attention . . . to the true principles of civil and religious liberty."<sup>68</sup>

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the International Religious Liberty Association. The first major officers were, C. Eldridge, president; W. H. McKee, secretary; and W. H. Edwards, treasurer.

<sup>65</sup>Ibid., p. 77.

<sup>66</sup>Dan T. Jones, "The National Religious Liberty Association," RH 66, Extra (December 24, 1889): 1.

<sup>67</sup>R. C. Potter, "The Religious Liberty Association: Its Object and Work for the Winter," RH 68 (December 15, 1891): 77.

<sup>68</sup>W. A. Colcord, "Seventh-day Adventists and the National Religious Liberty Association," AS 6 (May 21, 1891): 166.

Even though the association was organized by the Adventist denomination and all Seventh-day Adventists were encouraged to become members, the founders declared the NRLA "to be unpartisan in politics and unsectarian in religion."<sup>69</sup>

The association was as good as its word in regard to the King case. It appealed to the Supreme Court and girded itself to retain an attorney. Even though the case was aborted by King's death, the association accomplished a great deal for King and other Adventists by extending sympathy, counsel, and financial support. Eldridge stated in 1890 that the King case occupied the attention of the association "during the entire year."<sup>70</sup> At the 1891 General Conference session, O. A. Olsen congratulated the leaders of the association for their good work.<sup>71</sup>

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<sup>69</sup>Ibid. With central offices, first in Battle Creek and later in New York City, and vice-presidents, lecturers, and press agents in every state, the association developed a strong "influence . . . in every part of the Union." A. F. Ballenger, for example, lectured at the University of Michigan on religious liberty. There was a hearty response at the meeting, and the Religious Liberty Society at the university voted a resolution of appreciation in favor of Ballenger. See, W. A. Blakeley, "Notes from the University of Michigan," AS 6 (April 23, 1891): 139-40.

<sup>70</sup>"The Second Annual Session of the National Religious Liberty Association," RH 67 (December 16, 1890): 779-80; "Report of Religious Liberty Work for the Year 1890," GCB, March 15, 1891, pp. 110-15.

<sup>71</sup>[O. A. Olsen], "Address of Elder O. A. Olsen," GCB, March 6, 1891, p. 5

This association became an authoritative voice of Seventh-day Adventists in their opposition to Sunday legislation and all efforts to unite church and state. It stood at the forefront of Adventist struggles against certain interest groups who were determined to infringe civil and religious liberties. Other phases of Adventist opposition took the form of debates with representatives of the NRA and the American Sabbath Union.<sup>72</sup> In

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<sup>72</sup>See, e. g., "Mr. W. F. Crafts and His Oath," AS 4 (September 5, 1889): 249. This article deals with a challenge to a debate from Crafts to A.T. Jones. There were also several journalistic debates. See for example, "Correspondence," RH 66 (October 29, 1889): 674-75. This release carries two letters: (1) J. M. Foster to the Review editor, September 25, 1889; (2) W. A. Colcord to J. M. Foster, September 29, 1889. During the following month Foster and Colcord were at it again as noted by, "Correspondence," RH 66 (November 5, 1889): 691-92. Adventist editors also monitored the public and written releases from the NRA and the American Sabbath Union. An example of this kind of response is the editorial in ST 17 (June 1, 1891): 180. The writer, commenting on an article by Crafts in the Christian Statesman, said that Crafts "engaged . . . [in] barefaced falsehoods" against the denomination.

Efforts to preserve religious liberty are still being pursued by the Seventh-day Adventists under the direction of the Public Affairs and Religious Liberty Department of the General Conference. Consistent with the present context, though, the amicable and neighborly approach of the denomination to religious-liberty issues sharply contrasts with that of the late nineteenth century. But it must be understood that the forebears of the denomination were not simply aggressive, short-tempered disputants who constantly sought debates. Rather, they viewed themselves as stewards who were charged with a very serious responsibility of living and sharing the third angel's message which contains crucial preparatory elements for the second coming of Jesus Christ. (Quite likely, realizing that others were unwilling to announce that message, they did so with full enthusiasm. And even if their methods may be considered unorthodox by today's standards, their motives were positive.)

addition, a new stream of articles<sup>73</sup> and books<sup>74</sup>, informative and educative, and undeniably polemical, flowed from Adventist writers. Between 1883 and 1895, Protestant, Adventist, and secular literature on Sunday-legislation issues abounded.

Why did Adventists work so hard to forestall the crisis that they believed was the forerunner of the blessed hope? Were they blatantly naive, or deplorably cantankerous? They were neither. Late nineteenth-century Adventists were convinced that they were "buying" time to channel their eschatology into their missiology. Ellen White requested Adventists to pray that "God will restrain the powers of darkness," for the "present truth" was yet to be given to many in the world. "We are not prepared," she said, "for the time when our

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<sup>73</sup>Articles in Adventist papers abounded. In "Why We Oppose Religious Legislation," GCB, October 25, 1889, pp. 79-85, E. J. Waggoner argued that religious legislation was "unjust and inconsistent" with the "inalienable, and God-given" liberty afforded to humans. The titles of the following references underscore the fact that the battle lines had been drawn: E. J. W[aggoner], "The Wickedness of Church and State," ST 16 (January 27, 1890): 54; J. O. Corliss, "Religion and the State," AS 5 (June 19, 1890): 193; W. A. Blakeley, "Our Nation's Danger," AS 6 (January 8, 1891): 11-12; A. T. J[ones], "Sunday Laws Invade Realm of Conscience," AS 6 (January 8, 1891): 9, 10; [M. C. Wilcox], "National Reformers--Their Purpose and Its Outcome," ST 19 (December 19, 1892): 65-66.

<sup>74</sup>A. T. Jones was the most prolific Adventist author on religious liberty. His main works during the 1889-1895 period were: The National Sunday Law; Civil Government; and The Two Republics. Jones also wrote several major pamphlets for "Religious Liberty Library."

work must close."<sup>75</sup> Unselfishness underscored their religious-liberty commitment. If the crisis presaged the end, they must delay the crisis, they thought, in order to spread the "third angel's message."

Two occurrences, during the 1889-1895 period, as we shall see below seemed to have particular eschatological significance.

The Significance of Sunday Legislation to the  
Development of Seventh-day Adventist  
Eschatology, 1889-1895

Events in the area of Sunday legislation between 1889 and 1895 significantly sharpened the focus of Adventist eschatological thought. This section seeks to determine, however, if there was any significant development in Adventist eschatology in the period under consideration. Time challenges the theological understanding of a church to growth, stagnation, or even regression.

The denomination had taught for "forty years"<sup>76</sup> that a Sunday-law crisis was impending on the train of the prophecy of Rev 13. Rev 13:11-17 speaks of a lamb-horned beast that is to establish an oppressive "image to the [leopard-bodied] beast." Adventists saw in this

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<sup>75</sup>E. G. White, "An Address in Regard to the Sunday Movement," RH 66, Extra (December 24, 1889): 2-3.

<sup>76</sup>Joseph Bates, A Seal of the Living God. A Hundred Forty-Four Thousand, of the Servants of God Being Sealed, in 1849 (New Bedford, [Mass.: By the Author], 1849), p. 37.

passage a prediction that before the second coming of Christ, the United States (the lamb-horned beast) would inaugurate an alliance of church and state resembling the Catholic church-states of medieval Europe, and would use it to persecute persons who refuse to keep Sunday. Many Adventists attached major significance to two occurrences during the period: the February 29, 1892, decision concerning the Church of the Holy Trinity vs. the United States, and the vote that was taken in Congress and signed into law on August 5, 1892, that prior to the release of a federal appropriation, the gates of the Columbian Exposition must be closed on Sundays.

Image to the Beast--Its  
"Formation and Life"

In the majority opinion in The Church of the Holy Trinity, the Supreme Court incorporated statements that supported and fostered the "Christian-nation concept." Jones, in two sermons delivered at Battle Creek on May 14 and 21, 1892, stated categorically that the Court, in extending itself beyond the constitutional limits, had become the architect of a church-state merger--and that therefore "the image of the beast was practically made," and that the way was now open for the "fulfillment in completest meaning, of all that the third angel's message announces and warns against." All that remained to fulfill the prophecy of Rev 13:11-17 was for the United States "to give life to it [the image of the beast] by



the enforcement of whatever religious observances any bigots may choose."<sup>77</sup>

Central to Jones's argument was his observation that in tracing "the whole course of religious purposes in government from Ferdinand and Isabella down 'to the present hour,'" <sup>78</sup> the Court had followed a double standard. The historical background, he said, should have automatically identified Roman Catholicism as the established religion of the United States. In order to avoid giving such an impression, the Court had artfully suppressed the "establishment" idea by quoting from the First Amendment that "Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion," and by stating that there was basically no difference between Roman Catholicism and Protestantism.

There is no dissonance in these declarations. There is a universal language pervading them all, having one meaning; they affirm and re-affirm that this is a religious nation.<sup>79</sup>

Briefly, the meaning of Jones's argument above is that

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<sup>77</sup>A. T. Jones, "The Late Decision of the Supreme Court, and the Image of the Beast," RH 69 (May 31, 1892): 337. The lecture appeared in four parts bearing the same title in the Review. Part 1, (May 31, 1892): 337-39; part 2, (June 7, 1892): 353-55; part 3, (June 14, 1892): 369-70; part 4, (June 21, 1892): 385-87. A year before the 1892 decision, Jones had stated that the "foundation for making an image to the beast" was being fully laid (A. T. Jones, "Religious Liberty," GCB, March 15, 1891, pp. 103-110).

<sup>78</sup>Idem, "The Late Decision of the Supreme Court," RH 69 (May 31, 1892): 338

<sup>79</sup>Ibid.

while the Court was philosophically supporting the idea of a church-state merger it was attempting to deny it at the same time.

Even as the union of church and state "utterly ruined" the Roman empire, Jones opined, so surely the forming of the image to the beast through the union of church and state would "ruin this nation," and with it, the entire world. As the United States by its "freedom and liberality" had for awhile tended to pull the world away from the papacy, now it was reverting to "oppression and persecution [that] will have the tendency to swing back the world into sympathy and alliance with the papacy."<sup>80</sup>

Jones appealed to the members of his congregation regarding the forming of the image to the beast.<sup>81</sup>

Is it not time that the people who see these things and know them, were preparing for what is coming, for what is in this evil step, and for what is bound to come out of it? Is it not time? We have been talking of these things all these years, and now when the time has come that it stands right before our doors, and when the very thing has been pointed out for these forty years has come, showing that the coming of Christ is right at the doors, are you glad to know that it is so? or [sic] are you afraid that it is so?<sup>82</sup>

After President Harrison on August 5, 1892, signed the appropriation bill that provided for the

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<sup>80</sup>Ibid., p. 385.

<sup>81</sup>Ibid.

<sup>82</sup>Ibid.

closing of the World's Fair on Sundays (viewed by Jones as the passing of the first national Sunday law), Jones observed that "the next step in the prophecy [Rev 13] is to give life to the image."<sup>83</sup>

It has [been taken, he said], in the action of Congress, August 5, 1892, in the recognition of the Sunday dogma of the Church by closing the World's Fair on that day. This was the logical step for the Government to take. If this is a "Christian Nation," and if Sunday is the "Christian Sabbath," it logically follows that the "Christian Nation" ought to enforce the "Christian Sabbath"--a dogma upon which the Christian Church as a whole, both Catholic and Protestant agree. . . . The next step is to enforce by oppressive laws and penalties what it has now recognized.<sup>84</sup>

Clearly, Jones viewed the opinion of the Supreme Court as the making of the image to the beast, and the act of Congress in making its appropriation conditional on the World's Fair closing on Sundays, as the act whereby the United States gave life to the image.

#### Opposition to Jones's Interpretations

It is important to note that some Seventh-day Adventists--Uriah Smith in particular--did not agree with Jones's views. One recalls the struggle over prophetic interpretation between Smith and Jones at Minneapolis in 1888.<sup>85</sup> In a Review editorial, Smith rebutted Jones's

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<sup>83</sup>[A. T. Jones], "The Beast and Its Image," AS 7 (September 8, 1892): 275-76.

<sup>84</sup>Ibid.

<sup>85</sup>See pp. 216-18 of this study for more details regarding this dispute.

prophetic interpretation, and said that even Eldridge, president of the NRLA, felt that the "idea" that the image to the beast was "already made," was "not yet clear" in his mind.<sup>86</sup>

Smith examined Rev 13:11-17 exegetically, reminding his readers that the understanding of prophetic writings first comes from "studying the prophecy." He pointed out that the prophecy states that the "image is something to be made," whereas Justice Brewer's decision with respect to the Holy Trinity Church, including his opinion on America as a Christian nation "made no new thing, but simply [defined] a state of things which the Court [held] to have existed from the beginning of this government. But we cannot apply this to the image," for the image was not to be something that had existed "from the beginning" but something that had to be "made by the people of the government." According to the prophecy, "'they [the people] should make an image to the beast'" (Rev 13:14).<sup>87</sup> It was important to understand that the "people" had to take the initiative.

Smith further called attention to the miracles which Rev 13:1-17, say are to "precede the formation of the image." The "'great wonders,'" and the bringing

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<sup>86</sup>[Uriah Smith], "In the Question Chair," RH 69 (June 21, 1892): 392. Apparently, Eldridge's question to the editor (Smith) prompted the writing of the article.

<sup>87</sup>Ibid.

down of "fire . . . from heaven" as a show of power by the beast "have not yet appeared,"<sup>88</sup> he said.

Smith conceded that the decision of the Supreme Court was an important one, but held that it was important in the sense that it was "right in line with the fulfillment of the prophecy," not the fulfillment itself. The decision was a "hastening of the crisis," and would eventually lead to the making of the image.<sup>89</sup>

Smith rebutted Jones's claim that "some" Adventists believed that an amendment to the Constitution requiring Sunday observance had to be made before the image to the beast could be made. "We never supposed that anyone held that view," he said, for such an "amendment would not constitute the image to the beast, [even] if it should be secured." Like the decision of the Supreme Court, such an amendment would be only "in line of the worship of the beast." Eventually, Smith conceded, the "two-horned beast" (the government), not content only with worship would make, "through the people, an image to the Roman beast," and then give it life.<sup>90</sup>

Smith's exegetical method is highlighted when it is compared with Jones's faulty exegesis. Jones used the

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<sup>88</sup>Ibid.

<sup>89</sup>Ibid.

<sup>90</sup>A. T. Jones, "The Late Decision of the Supreme Court," RH 69 (June 21, 1892): 385; [Uriah Smith], "In the Question Chair," RH 69 (June 21, 1892): 392.

historical events as his point of departure. He superimposed the historical data upon the biblical text and, seemingly, defended his methodology by stating that God outlined it to him. He said that "the Lord gives us a picture that has already been wrought out in history," and that "this is why the Lord does not want us to look for the fulfillment of this prophecy [Rev 13] in the prophecy itself; because if we wait" the church would miss the flow of events. And "if we are on the wrong side, if we are late, we are simply left."<sup>91</sup> Jones, a keen student of history, wanted the church to realize that the time for the fulfillment of the prophecy had come. He did not consider himself an alarmist but sincerely thought that

the first hint of anything of the kind [was] enough; because we know what the thing is; and therefore just as soon as that thing is touched, we can say, 'That means the image of the beast; the image of the beast is in that thing.'

So I say it over again. From the nature of things and in the fast whirl of these last days and these things coming all so fast, in order to be safe we have got to be ahead of the actual occurrence of events. And in order to prepare us for that God has drawn it slowly out before our eyes in the historical evidence of the beast.<sup>92</sup>

In regard to the miracles in the prophecy, Jones told his audience at the 1893 General Conference session not to bother about them, because "every other thing is in

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<sup>91</sup>A. T. Jones, "Third Angel's Message.--No. 23," GCB, March 26, 1893, p. 512.

<sup>92</sup>Ibid.

consequence" of the image to the beast that had been made.<sup>93</sup> Jones's principal mistake was to attribute too much importance to Justice Brewer's opinion on America as a Christian nation. Opinions and arguments have no legal weight as such, only the actual decision has.

In summary, while Smith arrived at his conclusions by stating that understanding comes from first "studying the prophecy itself," Jones held that "the Lord does not want us to look for the fulfillment of this prophecy in the prophecy itself." He was convinced that by studying the events that occurred, as pointed out by the prophecy, "we can become thoroughly acquainted with the principles that were established."<sup>94</sup>

Ellen White did not enter the debate on either side. Instead, she reprimanded both Jones and Smith for their indiscretions and reproved Smith for opposing Jones in the same issue of the Review in which Jones's last

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<sup>93</sup>Idem, "Third Angel's Message.--No. 4," GCB, February 1, 1893, pp. 87-88.

<sup>94</sup>Idem, "Third Angel's Message.--No. 23," GCB, March 26, 1893, p. 512. Possibly, Jones meant that prophecy can be better understood after it has been fulfilled rather than before. Also, Jones's principal mistake, it seems, was attributing too much to an argument used within an "opinion" of the Supreme Court. Opinions and arguments have no legal weight as such, only the actual decision has. And in the case under discussion, the Court removed itself from interfering with a church. Thus the legal effect of the Supreme Court's decision was to assist the separation of church and state. Jones did not perceive this, however. Rather, he gave full sway to his chagrin on an aspect of the "opinion," regarding America being a Christian nation.

article appeared on the decision of the Supreme Court.<sup>95</sup>

In letters to S. N. Haskell, Smith, and Jones, Ellen White expressed her disappointment concerning the affair. Whether Jones was wrong or right in his interpretations, she felt that the warnings in his articles had some merit, and that it would have been better if Smith had discussed his disagreement with Jones privately, or had declined to publish his articles. But Ellen White counseled Jones to tone down his rhetoric and guard against "extremes" in expressing himself.<sup>96</sup>

The pertinent question posed above must be addressed. Was there any significant development in Adventist eschatology from 1889 to 1895?

#### No New Theology Reshaped Adventist Eschatology

The various Sunday-law bills, the two events of 1892 (the Christian-nation opinion and the decision of Congress regarding the closing of the World's Fair on Sundays), and Jones's interpretations produced no significant development in Adventist eschatological thought. Nothing new was added to the theology of the denomination

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<sup>95</sup>A. T. Jones, "The Late Decision of the Supreme Court," RH 69 (June 21, 1892): 385; [Uriah Smith], "In the Question Chair," RH 69 (June 21, 1892): 392.

<sup>96</sup>E. G. White to S. N. Haskell, August 22, 1892; E. G. White to Uriah Smith, August 30 1892; E. G. White to A. T. Jones, September 2, 1892. All cited in Knight, From 1888 to Apostasy, pp. 86-87.



on the mark of the beast during the period in question. If there was no development, then, what importance could be ascribed to Jones's interpretations? We must remember that, in spite of Smith's disagreement with Jones and Ellen White's plea for caution, Jones was allowed to disseminate his views: (1) that the image to the beast was formed on February 29, 1892, (2) that it was given life on August 5, 1892, and (3) that the August decision of Congress was the first national Sunday law.

Jones's Contributions to  
Adventist Eschatology

Even though "no new thing" was developed, the decisions were still important because, as Smith averred, they were "right in the line with the fulfillment of prophecy."<sup>97</sup> In light of this importance, what did Jones accomplish for Adventist eschatology? His interpretations contributed, at least three things: direction, application, and amplification.

1. Jones's interpretations highlighted the direction which enactments, decisions, and specific events related to Sunday legislation could possibly follow. He pointed out the course that Congress and Protestantism could take to achieve such legislation.

2. The interpretations made an outright application of the historical events to the prophecy of

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<sup>97</sup>[Uriah Smith], "In the Question Chair," RH 69 (June 21, 1892): 392.

Rev 13. Jones, speaking for himself and not his brethren, was convinced that the events fulfilled the prophecy, but later developments proved him wrong, and his less sanguine brethren right.

Even though the application of the historical data to the prophecy proved neither fulfillment nor the development of new eschatological thought, it did enhance awareness, discussion, and debate, which in turn stimulated the denomination to reassess, reevaluate, and clarify its eschatological position (as for example, in Smith's point of view treated above).

3. The interpretations also effected amplification of the historical events in relation to the prophecy of Rev 13. Amplification is not synonymous to development. Development calls for a change of characteristics; in amplification there is just an expansion of form.

Jones opened to closer scrutiny by the denomination the events that were taking place. He also expanded the grasp of many leaders and laity of the relationship between prophecy and history.

In addition to the contributions to Adventist eschatological thinking enumerated above, the happenings in the Sunday-law arena sensitized Adventists in at least two ways: to get on with getting their message to the world, and to practice better a particular lifestyle in preparation for the second coming of Christ.

Impact of the Sunday-Law  
Crisis on Missiology

While Adventist missiology is not the topic of this research, it is of importance to note that late nineteenth-century Adventists more fully integrated their missiology into their eschatology in the 1890s than they had previously. Excitement about the image to the beast inspired leaders of the denomination, more conscious than before of the nearness of the second advent, to call on the members to take their message to people at home and in foreign lands.

Adventist missions expanded rapidly in the late 1880s and the 1890s. Before 1892 Uriah Smith had pointed out that the Sunday law issue should serve as a stimulus to Adventists to get their message to the world. It was not sufficient, he thought, just to "enlighten men with reference to the National Reform movement." Important as that was, "the main object to be gained is . . . to persuade men to believe and practice the entire truth which is to sanctify a people for the coming of the Lord."<sup>98</sup>

In the article, in which he said these things, Smith referred to several concepts included in the third angel's message (religious liberty, mission, "the health question," and the second coming of Christ), and emphasized the need to "teach [people] their whole duty with

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<sup>98</sup>Idem, "The Main Point," RH 65 (January 3, 1888): 8.

reference to the third angel's message." Smith's link between mission and health comes later in the treatment of the Adventist lifestyle.<sup>99</sup>

In 1889 Ellen White said that she was shown that "Satan had been working earnestly to carry out his designs to restrict religious liberty." She reminded her people of two very crucial necessities. The first was missiological: "The message has gone to comparatively few," she said. The second was a combination of the spiritual and the eschatological, an appeal to be "prepared for the time when our work must close."<sup>100</sup>

O. A. Olsen, also in 1889, was almost overwhelmed by the ominous nature of the times and to the "crisis just before us." The church, he continued, stood "face to face with events of the greatest importance," and must therefore share its message now.<sup>101</sup> Olsen's faith grasped a finished eschatology. He expressed a typical Adventist triumphalism and firmly believed that

the time is not far distant when the triumphant throng will stand on the sea of glass, and shout the victory over the beast and his image, holding the harps of gold, and singing the Song of Moses and [of] the Lamb. May we hasten the glad day.<sup>102</sup>

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<sup>99</sup>Ibid.

<sup>100</sup>E. G. White, "An Address in Regard to the Sunday Movement," RH 66, Extra (December 24, 1889): 2, 3.

<sup>101</sup>O. A. Olsen, "Our Duty in the Present Crisis," RH 66, Extra (December 24, 1889): 2.

<sup>102</sup>Ibid.

In 1892 Ellen White used the loud cry motif from Rev 14 and 18 to encourage mission expansion.

The time of test is just upon us [she said], for the loud cry of the third angel has already begun. . . . This is the beginning of the light of the angel whose glory shall fill the whole earth. . . . For it is the work of every one to whom the message of warning has come to lift up Jesus.

The days in which we live are eventful and full of peril. The signs of the coming of the Lord are thickening around us.<sup>103</sup>

In like manner, W. A. Colcord, troubled by the vote taken by Congress in August 1892 in respect to closing the gates of the World's Fair on Sundays, translated his apprehension into a call to action. In the face of the significant Sunday law, he stated that "the Lord calls upon us to sound the alarm" and accelerate our mission efforts.<sup>104</sup>

The concept of mission comes out in the writings of A. T. Jones. At the 1893 General Conference session he challenged the delegates more than once to go "forth from this conference . . . with the message." He called on his hearers to "see that from the message of Rev. 14, from the record of the third angel's message, when the image of the beast is made," an immediate responsibility "to go forth with the message" fell upon all members of the denomination. He said "we are to go

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<sup>103</sup>E. G. White, "The Perils and Privileges of the Last Days," RH 69 (November 22, 1892): 722.

<sup>104</sup>W. A. Colcord, "Is it Law?" HM 5 (July 1893): 126-27.

. . . and . . . meet the work that God has prepared for us . . . in every direction."<sup>105</sup>

On July 22, 1893, Jones made an explicit connection between mission and Sunday legislation while preaching a stirring sermon entitled "In the Time of Trouble" in the Battle Creek Tabernacle. After talking about the Sunday-law issue and religious liberty and emphasizing that the "United States Government took the side of Rome," he told his audience that perhaps God wanted them even to sell their possessions, so that--unshackled by earthly entrapments--they would be at God's disposal for overseas service. Jones said:

Now it may be that He wants you to sell the last thing you have, because He may want to use you somewhere else. He may not want you here; He may want you somewhere else in the world. You saw in the Review and Herald, that one hundred families are wanted for Australia and New Zealand, . . . and one hundred families are wanted in the islands of the sea. Are you telling the Lord, "Here am I Lord?" Are you asking Him whether He wants you? If not, why not? And they want more for South Africa, and South America, and all the way around; that is how the message is to go to all nations, and kindreds, and tongues, and peoples, and then shall the end come. . . . You think it is real nice to come here to the Tabernacle to meeting; but it is not nearly as nice as it would be to go somewhere else . . . where God wants us, and spread his truth to the ends of the earth.<sup>106</sup>

In his last sermon on "The Third Angel's Message" at the 1893 General Conference session, Jones again

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<sup>105</sup>A. T. Jones, "Third Angel's Message.--No. 23," GCB, March 26, 1893, p. 513.

<sup>106</sup>A. T. Jones, "In the Time of Trouble," HM 5 (September 1893): 173.

touched the theme of religious liberty. In doing so he sent the delegates away with three emphases: (1) the need to worship God, not the beast and its image; (2) the mission of preaching the gospel; and (3) the imminent second coming of Jesus Christ.<sup>107</sup>

W. A. Spicer also urged mission expansion in the light of the apparent fulfillment of Rev 13:

As the United States has wheeled into line with other nations in the matter of Church and State relationship, our work here at home has taken on a phase which indicates that the time has come when the truth must go to all just the same as to the people of this country; . . . to all others, and that, too, "right early."<sup>108</sup>

Spicer noted political and social changes by which, through "God's providence," "the way was being prepared" for the spread of the "third angel's message" in many places, including specifically (as Spicer named), Asia (India and China), Africa, Japan, the Pacific Islands, and the Roman Catholic countries of South America. "The awakening interest in heathen lands . . . has been guided of the Lord to prepare the way before this message. . . . God has been shaping all the world for this time," Spicer said.<sup>109</sup>

Between the end of 1889 and the end of 1895,

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<sup>107</sup>Idem, "Third Angel's Message.--No. 23," GCB, March 26, 1893, p. 522.

<sup>108</sup>W. A. Spicer, "Opening of the World to the Message," HM 5 (December 1893): 252.

<sup>109</sup>Idid., pp. 252-53.

Jones was unequivocal in preaching, lecturing, and writing that the country was "in the living and acting presence of the image of the beast." Jones was sure that that power was simply waiting for a chance "to enforce the mark."<sup>110</sup> He reemphasized that the task of spreading the Adventist message was an urgent one, and especially so, in his opinion, because the first national Sunday law had been signed on August 5, 1892.<sup>111</sup>

With the above appeals in mind, it is useful to note that Gottfried Oosterwal has partitioned the mission outreach of the denomination into four phases. Three are relevant here: (1) From 1844 to the early 1850's, when Sabbatarian Adventists (because they believed that the door of mercy had been shut to all others) confined their labors to former Millerite Adventists. (2) From the early 1850s to the early 1870s when Adventists took the "last warning message" mainly to other Christians in North America. (3) From 1874, when they sent J. N. Andrews to Europe,<sup>112</sup> until when they opened their first mission station among a non-Christian people. While it is true

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<sup>110</sup>A. T. Jones, "Third Angel's Message.--No. 1," GCB, February 6, 1895, pp. 17-19.

<sup>111</sup>Idem, "Third Angel's Message.--No. 3," GCB, January 31, 1893, pp. 70-71; idem, "Third Angel's Message.--No. 23," GCB, March 26, 1893, pp. 516-17.

<sup>112</sup>Gottfried Oosterwal, Mission Possible: The Challenge of Mission Today (Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Publishing Association, 1972), pp. 23-35.



that Adventists began to pay attention to Matt 24:14 from the early 1870s, the 1890s witnessed a major shift in Adventist missiology as the denomination took very seriously the gospel commission of Matt 24:14.

From the small beginning of their foreign mission work in 1874, Adventist missionaries increased from 5 in 1880, to 56 by 1890, and to 481 by 1900. In 1880 there were 25 overseas churches. This number grew to 86 by 1890, and to 338 by 1900. Obviously, there was growth in church membership also. From 586 in 1880, membership outside of North America by 1890 reached 2,680, and increased by 1900 to 12,432.<sup>113</sup> Judging from the mission emphasis treated above, there was a connection between Sunday legislation and this growth in mission efforts.

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<sup>113</sup>SDAE, 1976 ed., p. 917. For a survey of the the opening up of the Adventist mission work in some areas of the world, see the following: for the Polynesian islands, see J. O. Corliss, "The Pacific Islands as a Missionary Field," RH 65 (January 3, 1888): 6-7; for the British Isles, see Gideon David Hagstotz, Seventh-day Adventists in the British Isles, 1878-1933 (Lincoln, Neb.: Union College Press, 1936); for Inter-America, see Wesley Amundsen, The Advent Message in Inter-America (Washington, D.C.: Review and Herald Publishing Association, 1947); for Australia, see Arthur S. Maxwell, Under the Southern Cross (Nashville, Tenn.: Southern Publishing Association, 1966); for general works on mission, see William A. Spicer, Our Story of Missions, (Mountain View, Calif.: Pacific Press Publishing Association, 1921); Olsen, Origin and Progress (chapters 19, 20, 23, 25-30, 32); Spalding, Origin and History (chapters 12 and 16 in part II); a relatively recent work covers the history of missions in Australia, New Zealand, and the Pacific islands (see Noel Clapham, ed., Seventh-day Adventists in the South Pacific, 1885-1895 (Warburton, Australia: Signs Publishing Company, [1985])).

Influence of Sunday-law Crisis  
on Adventist Lifestyle

Health reform became an essential adjunct to the content of the Adventist message to missions particularly in response to Sunday legislation. Within the framework of the third angel's message, therefore, Adventists viewed health reform as an important element in the structure of their eschatology.

Just before our period, 1889-1895, Uriah Smith, writing about the National Reform movement, related "the health question [and] T. and M. work" to mission expansion. To him, health and temperance and the distribution of tracts (indoctrination by literature) were integral components of the missionary message. Physical and other benefits aside, Smith said that the vital concern of health reform was to bring people "into communion with heaven." Consistent with the view that prevailed, Smith held that the content of the proclamation was "the great spiritual truths of the third angel's message." Briefly put, Seventh-day Adventists felt that because time was short they should live up to all they believed, including health reform and "herald to the world . . . the last last proclamation of the advent of Christ."<sup>114</sup>

Interestingly, Jones and Smith, sometimes at variance theologically, stood on the same ground

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<sup>114</sup>[Uriah Smith], "The Main Point," RH 65 (January 3, 1888): 8.

regarding health reform and mission expansion within Adventist eschatology. By 1893 Jones was affirming that health reform would receive power from the third angel's message, and that "no man" could preach that message without heralding three "things": a warning against the image of the beast, the coming of the Lord, and the seven last plagues. He then made a connection between health reform--"which is to fit the people for translation"--and the mission commitment of the church.<sup>115</sup>

Jones supported his conviction by citing Ellen White, who stated that "'health reform is closely connected to the work of the third angel's message,'" and that "'our preachers should teach the health reform.'" The Sunday-law situation being uppermost in his mind, Jones linked several concepts together that once more demonstrated the very central position of Rev 14 in Adventist eschatology. Note his sequence:

What are the events brought to view by the third angel's message?--The coming of the Lord; and before that, the pouring out of the plagues, and the worship of the beast and his image on the part of the wicked; perfect holiness and the close of probation on the part of the righteous. . . . Those are the things brought to view in the third angel's message, and health reform is to be preached by us all and set forth as the preparatory work to meet those things which the message tells us about.<sup>116</sup>

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<sup>115</sup>A. T. Jones, "Third Angel's Message.--No. 4," "GCB, February 1, 1893, p. 88; idem, "Third Angel's Message.--No. 23, GCB, March 26, 1893, p. 515.

<sup>116</sup>A. T. Jones, "Health Reform by Faith," HM 5 (November 1893): 10-14 (emphasis supplied); cf., E. G.

Education was another avenue whereby Adventists promoted their particular lifestyle. Judging from the time the denomination established its first school in 1872, growth was pedestrian up to 1890, at which time only thirteen educational institutions existed. An explosion took place during the 1890s. By 1900 there were two hundred and forty-five schools at the elementary, secondary, and college levels.<sup>117</sup> It must be noted that the educational explosion paralleled mission expansion. George R. Knight has underscored the growth in mission consciousness as one of the key factors that contributed to the rapid development of education.<sup>118</sup>

Adventists, by their chosen lifestyle, did not aim at separatism and secluedness in order to be aloof from other Christians. They were convinced that the second advent of Christ was imminent. In consequence of that conviction, they were serious about being ready for that event and believed in a holistic preparation.

In conclusion, the years 1889 through 1895 saw

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White, Testimonies, 1:559. Admittedly, J. H. Waggoner, as early as 1866, wrote about "bodies [being] cleansed and fitted for translation" (in "Present Truth," RH 28 [August 7, 1866]: 77). However, the important points for consideration now are: (1) there was no explosion in missionary efforts in 1866, and (2) health reform, as will be shown later, was not connected to righteousness by faith in 1866.

<sup>117</sup>George R. Knight, "Spiritual Revival and Educational Expansion," RH 161-A (March 29, 1984): 8-11.

<sup>118</sup>Ibid.

Sunday-legislation issues stir the ranks of Adventism. The efforts of the Sunday-law proposers kept Adventist attention focused on the prophecies. While the response to the issues during the late 1880s and early 1890s did not reshape Adventist eschatology, it did spark productivity of thought among Adventists. Further, the issues provoked awareness and motivated leaders like Ellen White to challenge lethargy and inspire activity. Between 1889 and 1895, Sunday-legislation issues prodded the Adventist community to reassess and revalue its vision of the end. The agitators for a national Sunday law unwittingly did a service to the Adventists.

Righteousness by Faith and Seventh-day  
Adventist Eschatology, 1889-1895

After 1888, righteousness by faith was not an addendum to Seventh-day Adventist eschatology; it became central to it. In spite of the controversy that remained with the teaching, it expanded in its impact on Adventist theology and in the life and witness of the people. The years 1889 through 1895 witnessed a clearly defined recognition of the connection between righteousness by faith and the third angel's message of Rev 14.

This section of the study reviews 1888 very briefly and concentrates more on the immediate aftermath, including the revival of 1889. It also presents two sub-topics that helped to advance the teaching on righteousness by faith: (1) the revival of 1893, and (2)

the theology of the nature of Christ which peaked in the 1890s. Finally, the significance of righteousness by faith toward the development of Adventist eschatology from 1889 to 1895 receives treatment.

#### 1888: Aftermath of the Crisis

The debate over the acceptance or rejection of the 1888 message began soon after the Minneapolis General Conference and is still an issue a century later. The time and space given to the historical and theological bases of the debate in the previous chapter must suffice. This section devotes no more attention to those issues. Interestingly, while individuals stood on both sides of the question, the General Conference itself took no formal vote for or against righteousness by faith. Of course, the endorsement of the doctrine by Ellen White was seen by some as a weighty, informal vote in its favor.

G. I. Butler and Uriah Smith, two prominent ministers who had led the opposition and had battled uncompromisingly to preserve Adventist perceptions as they understood them, took a few years to give up their points of view. Unlike Butler (who had passed through a period of illness), Smith had not withdrawn from the employment of the organization. On January 5, 1891, Smith apologized to Ellen White, who had labored unceasingly with him. She remarked in a letter that "Brother Smith [had]

fallen on the rock, and [was] broken, and the Lord Jesus will now work with him with him."<sup>119</sup>

In 1893 Butler announced his turning point through an article which he wrote for the Review and Herald. He observed that "great changes" had occurred in the work of the church since his premature retirement "four or five years" before, and that he had "no feeling of dislike, bitterness, nor [sic] unkindness . . . toward those" who led out in effecting the changes. Of significance was his confession that much "good" came as a result of the "agitation" concerning "justification by faith, [and] the necessity of appropriating Christ's righteousness" for salvation.<sup>120</sup> At the Florida camp-meeting in 1894, Butler shared the speaking platform with A. T. Jones. In 1901 he reentered the employ of the Seventh-day Adventist Church, and Ellen White rejoiced over his return.<sup>121</sup>

In order to maintain any advantage gained at the 1888 meetings, some key leaders continued to present the subject of righteousness by faith from a positive point of view, an effort which absorbed much of their time,

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<sup>119</sup>E. G. White to Brother and Sister Washburn, January 6, 1891 (Letter 32, EGWE-AU).

<sup>120</sup>G. I. Butler, "Personal," RH 70 (June 13, 1893): 377.

<sup>121</sup>E. G. White to Brother and Sister Keck, May 1902 (Letter 77, EGWE-AU).

energy, and expertise. Two aspects of the dissemination crusade are dealt with below: (1) the revival of 1889 and onward, and (2) indoctrination through literature.

As was stated toward the end of the previous chapter, after 1888 Ellen White teamed up with Jones, Waggoner, and other leaders to spread the message of righteousness by faith. They spoke in churches, at campmeetings and ministerial institutes, and to various other large convocations.

Post-1888: The "Revival"  
Beginning in 1889

A. V. Olson has written about a revival that began in 1889.<sup>122</sup> Ellen White said about the revival of 1889 that she "had never seen a revival work go forward with such thoroughness." At one series of meetings many members testified, confessing that they had been trusting in their own righteousness, which they acknowledged "as filthy rags, in comparison with the righteousness of Christ, which alone is acceptable to God." As the members surrendered and "opened their hearts to the light, they obtained a better knowledge of what constitutes faith."<sup>123</sup> Concerning another series of meetings she

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<sup>122</sup>Olson firmly believed that there was a revival in 1889. He expressed his convictions about the immediate post-1888 events in Thirteen Crisis Years, pp. 61-70.

<sup>123</sup>E. G. White, "Meetings at South Lancaster, Mass.," RH 66 (March 5, 1889): 145-46.



said that "like a wave of glory, the blessing of God swept over us as we pointed men to the Lamb of God."<sup>124</sup> Many Adventists, though probably not a majority, were getting a fuller glimpse of Jesus Christ and His righteousness.

The 1889 General Conference session at Battle Creek sharply contrasted with the 1888 session. A spirit of "harmony" pervaded the atmosphere. With O. A. Olsen leading out as president of the General Conference, Jones, Waggoner, and Ellen White were again present. She expressed her satisfaction about the amicable and spiritual session that had convened:

We are having the most excellent meetings. The spirit that was in the meeting at Minneapolis is not here. All moves off in harmony. There is a large attendance of delegates. . . . They say that the past year has been the best of their life; the light shining forth from the Word of God has been clear and distinct--justification by faith, Christ our righteousness. . . .

I have attended all but two morning meetings. At eight o'clock Brother Jones speaks upon the subject of justification by faith, and great interest is manifested. There is a growth in faith and in the knowledge of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ.<sup>125</sup>

Quite likely, whatever spiritual benefits accrued from the teaching tours between the two conferences helped to prepare the way for the success of the 1889 session and for a fuller acceptance of the "message of light" that

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<sup>124</sup>Idem, "The Present Message," RH 67 (March 18, 1890): 161.

<sup>125</sup>Idem, MS 10, 1889, EGWE-AU; idem, Selected Messages, 1:361-62.

had come to the church as the "truth for this time."<sup>126</sup>

Apparently, the spiritual momentum continued into the 1890s for M. C. Wilcox testified "with positiveness" that of the five General Conference sessions that he had had the privilege of attending up to that time, the 1891 session stood out as the one where the Spirit of God was most manifest. He was of the opinion that the training school for ministers and the teachings on justification by faith contributed greatly to the high spiritual level of the people.<sup>127</sup>

In regard to the Bible schools, or institutes for ministers,<sup>128</sup> Olsen expressed the same opinion as Wilcox. Granted that the stated purpose for conducting the institutes, according to Olsen, was "to meet the demand for a

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<sup>126</sup>Ibid.

<sup>127</sup>M. C. W[ilcox], "The General Conference," ST 17 (March 30, 1891): 99. Ellen White noticed, however, that some of the people were still manifesting pharisaical attitudes. She said she saw "some men who were so lifted up in themselves, and so stubborn, that their hearts were enshrouded in darkness" (E. G. White, "Our Present Dangers," GCB, April 13, 1891, pp. 257, 260).

<sup>128</sup>Three Bible schools (or institutes for ministers) were held at Battle Creek between 1889 and 1891. The first was conducted from January 17 to March 28, 1889. O. A. Olsen, the new General Conference president had not yet arrived from Europe. Upon taking up his duties he and his committee approved the other two "schools." The second ran from November 5, 1889, to March 25, 1890 (twenty weeks); the third ran from October 31, 1890, to February 27, 1891 (sixteen weeks). See RH 66 (January 1, 1889): 16; O. A. Olsen, "Opening Address," GCB, October 18, 1889, p. 6; [idem], "Address of Elder O. A. Olsen," GCB, March 6, 1891, p. 4.

short course of instruction for those engaged in different branches of the work,"<sup>129</sup> some kind of revival experience was also realized. The "students," in addition to receiving a better knowledge of the beliefs taught by Adventists, confessed that the "converting power of God has been manifested in a marked degree."<sup>130</sup>

One cannot escape the conclusion that the 1889 "revival" or spiritual revitalization sowed the seeds that produced the revival of 1893.

#### Post-1888: Indoctrination Literature

Seventh-day Adventist leaders and writers published a voluminous amount of literature on righteousness by faith during the post-1888 years. This literature shows a continuing struggle by the writers to reconcile grace and law, or salvation by faith, as opposed to salvation by works. Some difficult theological concepts seem best understood when held in tension with each other. Some of the denomination's writers tried to hold that tension between law and grace in their effort to indoctrinate the membership.

In 1889 M. C. Wilcox, for example, said that the amazing dimension of faith is "that it works." He did

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<sup>129</sup>Idem, "Opening Address," GCB, October 18, 1889, p. 6.

<sup>130</sup>Idem, "Address of Elder O. A. Olsen," GCB, March 6, 1891, p. 4.

not mean that works are attached to faith, but that "works come from it." Wilcox was careful to note that while works (fruits) were produced by faith, it was faith that brought the gift of grace--the "imputed righteousness of God through Christ"--and that gift was achieved "without works."<sup>131</sup> Wilcox, as a product of his time when the keeping of the law was emphasized, evinced much growth in his understanding of the role of faith.

E. J. Waggoner repeated some of the same theological insights embodied in his 1886 articles on Gal 3, and in his Gospel in the Book of Galatians, (1888). The summary of Waggoner's thought, as gleaned from a few of his 1889 articles, also reveals the tension between grace and law. He stated that the righteousness that was "brought to the believing sinner through the gospel" was the same righteousness that was of the law. He meant that the power of the righteous gospel would produce a righteous life as demanded by the righteous law. "It is Christ . . . who does the work," said Waggoner.<sup>132</sup>

Significantly, some persons took righteousness by faith to an extreme and began to negate the law completely. Ellen White met the problem head-on. She said that some "declare that all they want to hear about is

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<sup>131</sup>[M. C.] W[ilcox], "The Obedience of Faith," ST 15 (February 4, 1889): 71.

<sup>132</sup>[E. J.] W[aggoner], "The Law in the Gospel," ST 15 (March 18, 1889): 166-67; Idem, "Living by Faith," ST 15 (March 25, 1889): 182-83.

faith in Christ." She then emphasized the law.<sup>133</sup>

Ellen White, a dedicated believer and promoter of righteousness by faith, was in no way disavowing the importance of faith. In another article that soon followed, she stressed the essentiality of faith. "Why cannot we take hold of the righteousness of Christ this very day?" she asked. "You need . . . faith," she then advised.<sup>134</sup> She wanted them to understand that the gift of righteousness by faith did not jettison the law but empowered them to live up to the righteousness of the law. But the concept seemed too difficult for some to understand.

During 1889 a number of articles came from writers who did not write as regularly as the prolific group. Their contributions are also important, because they show growth in understanding from a less vocal majority. Two examples are noted here: Albert Stone unshackled himself from the cliches that had begun to immure the theology of righteousness by faith. Stone stated that while faith is set forth in the Scriptures as a condition of salvation, it must not be understood as

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<sup>133</sup>E. G. White, "Preparation for the Testing Time," ST 15 (April 22, 1889): 241-42.

<sup>134</sup>Idem, "Faith and Its Effects," ST 15 (June 10, 1889): 337-38. At the Rome, N.Y., campmeeting Ellen White told her audience that justification by faith was a message from God bearing divine credentials. See, idem, "Camp-Meeting at Rome, N. Y.," RH 66 (September 3, 1889): 545.

forming any part of the justifying righteousness, but simply as an instrument without which we cannot claim righteousness.<sup>135</sup> C. H. Bliss said concisely: "God . . . not only writes the divine law in the heart (2 Cor 3:2)," "but gives the requisite grace to keep it. And this is God working in us."<sup>136</sup>

There was a divergent opinion, however, regarding the point of time in the sinner's experience when justification took place. Wilcox held the regular view that justification "always has reference to past sins."<sup>137</sup> Underwood also limited the function to "past sins."<sup>138</sup> They were not incorrect; they upheld a known Pauline tradition. In discussing justification, Paul referred to "sins that are past" in Rom 3:25.

Another thought was expressed by Waggoner. For him, justification was not for past sins only. He saw it as being also progressive, "from faith to faith" (also a Pauline thought in Rom 1:17). Waggoner viewed justification as a dynamic, spiritual experience. He did not see

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<sup>135</sup>Albert Stone, "Justification," RH 66 (November 19, 1889): 722.

<sup>136</sup>C. H. Bliss, "Gospel Liberty," RH 66 (December 10, 1889): 769.

<sup>137</sup>M. C. W[ilcox], "Justification," ST 15 (June 10, 1889): 342-43.

<sup>138</sup>R. A. Underwood, "Christ and His Work: The Wedding Garment," RH 66 (October 1, 1889): 611.

it as a one-time gift just for past sins, but a moment by moment application.<sup>139</sup> A person might want to argue that Waggoner was indulging in theological semantics, for what is the difference between past sins of several years ago and past sins in today's experience? Really, there is no difference. But Waggoner was not on that plane. Possibly he had more than one idea in mind. Within his "progressive justification" was couched a hidden apologetic against the "once saved always saved" doctrine of some Protestant groups. Waggoner opposed the view that after the initial justifying encounter the believer needed no more justification. Within the denomination, however, the situation was more complex. A major issue developed: some apparently believed that while they had justification and faith for past sins, the new emphasis allowed them justification by works for the future.

In 1890 Ellen White presented some new insights on the parable of the ten virgins. The interpretation and application of that pericope in Matt 25, had helped the early Adventists to understand the Millerite dilemma and to initiate study of the then incoherent sanctuary doctrine. White said that the "same abiding influence" that graced the five wise virgins would attend the third angel's message when it was preached as it should be. On

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<sup>139</sup>[E. J.] W[aggoner], "From Faith to Faith," ST 15 (April 1, 1889): 199.

the other hand, she counted as foolish virgins those who "received the precious light of the righteousness of Christ" and acted carelessly with it. At the end of this world's history, upon the arrival of the eschatological Bridegroom, the "wise virgins"--the saved gathered from the earth--would take with them the "elements of heaven" imparted to them through the righteousness of Christ.<sup>140</sup>

A very useful work, published in 1890, is E. J. Waggoner's Christ and His Righteousness.<sup>141</sup> An undocumented claim states that this book embodies a reworked form of the lectures that Waggoner presented at Minneapolis in 1888. L. E. Froom gave currency to this information, but indisputable evidence is still needed to confirm it.<sup>142</sup>

In Christ and His Righteousness, Waggoner covered two theological areas that are inextricably intertwined, and might have been considered by him as a unit. In the early sections of the book, he treated some Christological teachings: Christ's origin, His divinity, His role as

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<sup>140</sup>E. G. White, "The Conditions of Salvation," RH 67 (September 23, 1890): 577. Later in 1890 she wrote the sublime article, "Christ the Way of Life," RH 67 (November 4, 1890): 673, in which she expressed in simple terms that the law demanded righteousness owed by the sinner who could not pay. But by faith the sinner could bring to God the merits of Christ, and Christ's righteousness would be placed by God to the sinner's account.

<sup>141</sup>E. J. Waggoner, Christ and His Righteousness (Oakland, Calif.: Pacific Press Publishing Company, 1890).

<sup>142</sup>See, Froom, Movement of Destiny, p. 189.



creator, and His incarnation. In the latter sections, he reiterated his theology of righteousness by faith (made public earlier through his 1886 articles in Signs of the Times, as well as through his 1888 pamphlet, The Gospel in the Book of Galatians).<sup>143</sup> His obvious purpose was to lay a foundation in the first part upon which to build his theology of righteousness by faith in the second. Waggoner's Christological concerns will not receive any attention at this point of the study, but will be treated later, when the "nature of Christ" is covered.

The preceding chapter of this study presents Waggoner's view on righteousness by faith. No attempt is being made here to go over the ground again, but his recourse to deductive reasoning in Christ and His Righteousness merits brief attention. He reasoned as follows: unrighteousness is sin (1 John 5:17); transgression of the law is sin (1 John 3:4); "therefore, according to the axiom that two things that are equal to the same thing are equal to each other, we have:--unrighteousness = transgression of the law." Conversely, the axiom is "righteousness = obedience to the law." But since the law could not impute righteousness, Christ offers that righteousness through the plan of justification by

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<sup>143</sup>See pp. 177-88, and 188-94 above. Waggoner, however, used the epistle to the Romans much more than that to the Galatians in Christ and His Righteousness. This fact strengthens the view of those who believe that this book does not encapsulate Waggoner's 1888 lectures.

faith.<sup>144</sup> Building upon the first sections of the book, Waggoner stated that: (1) the ability to create reveals God's power, (2) "the gospel is the power of God unto salvation," (3) the gospel reveals God's original creative power, and (4) creative power and "salvation power" are the same.

Waggoner climaxed this portion of his deductive theology by asserting, ipso facto, that the "power of redemption is the power of creation . . . which can take human nothingness" and recreate it to the glory of God. He was speaking of both the now and the not yet. The experience of character transformation "now"--through the gift of Christ's righteousness--would be followed at the second advent by the glorious and complete recreation of the human person who now exercises faith in Christ's justifying power.<sup>145</sup>

In 1891 another significant production was added to the growing literature on righteousness-by-faith theology. Again, it was from Waggoner. He presented a series of sixteen studies at the 1891 General Conference session on the developing doctrine based on the "Letter to the Romans."<sup>146</sup> The essence of the lectures was

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<sup>144</sup>E. J. Waggoner, Christ and His Righteousness, pp. 47-48, 60-69.

<sup>145</sup>Ibid., p. 38.

<sup>146</sup>Up through 1889, General Conference sessions

reproduced in the 1891 General Conference Bulletin.<sup>147</sup>

Waggoner maintained a consistency of thought on the vital subject of righteousness by faith. He did not deviate from the position he took in 1886. He must have won the respect of his critics, even if they denied him admiration. His consistency and persistence were forces to be feared by any opposition.

Waggoner's careful thinking seems to have given him able leverage in untying knotty Pauline theological reasoning. Contrary to the apprehensions of the "old guard," who had felt themselves committed to uphold the bastions of traditional Adventism as they perceived it, Waggoner gave both the law and faith their rightful place. The crux of his argument was that the law is inherently righteous; and that, while it cannot impute righteousness to the sinner, it demands righteousness of the sinner. Christ is righteous; and He can impute righteousness to the sinner to satisfy the demands of the law. The sinner who demonstrates faith in Christ is justified and receives righteousness by faith. Consequently, it is Christ who enables the sinner to keep the

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were held annually. After 1891 they were held biennially. Following the 1891 session, Ellen White left for Australia where she sojourned for close to nine years.

<sup>147</sup>The first study appeared in the GCB, March 8, 1891, beginning on page 33. The last study appeared March 23, starting on page 238. These lectures enhanced Waggoner's theological stature.

law. The result is not the sinner at work gaining salvation; it is Christ at work in the sinner in response to saving faith.

The "Letter to the Romans" studies carry a dominant eschatological tone. Waggoner emphasized in these lectures the idea of the "inheritance."<sup>148</sup> As righteousness by faith is a gift, the eschatological inheritance is also a gift. The concept of inheriting the recreated earth by victorious Christians was not a new one, but Waggoner's tying of this concept to righteousness by faith provided new eschatological insights for Seventh-day Adventists.

During 1891 other leaders added their quota of thought to the development of the theology of righteousness by faith. M. C. Wilcox, in reporting on some highlights of the 1891 General Conference session, referred to Waggoner's lectures. Wilcox noted that justification by faith was the "foundation doctrine of all."<sup>149</sup> It was not a mere theory, but a fact. He advanced from his 1889 understanding that justification always applied to past sins only,<sup>150</sup> and adopted Waggoner's view of the progressive nature--the "moment

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<sup>148</sup>E. J. Waggoner, "Letter to the Romans.--No. 5," GCB, March 12, 1891, p. 86.

<sup>149</sup>M. C. W[ilcox], "General Conference," ST 17 (March 30, 1891): 99.

<sup>150</sup>Idem, "Justification," ST 15 (June 10, 1889): 342.

by moment" efficacy--of justification by faith.<sup>151</sup>

On this same point, an unsigned editorial in The Signs of the Times stated that justification was a pledge of future cleansing, for to deal with past sins alone would be a mocking of the sinner. "True justification" is linked with regeneration, a change of nature (2 Cor 5:17). The writer also addressed the concept of sanctification, affirming that it was the setting apart of the sinner (now justified and led by the Holy Spirit) to live righteously unto God. Finally, the author made a point that seems debatable on the surface: for the sinner, sanctification is instantaneous on account of God's promise when the sinner yields; for God, it is a gradual work wrought out through the daily life of the individual.<sup>152</sup>

In 1892 Uriah Smith contributed a series of eight articles to The Signs of the Times.<sup>153</sup> Under the title "Man's Sin and Savior," Smith wrote on the sanctuary theme without discussing the unfolding doctrine of righteousness by faith. He thereby lost an excellent

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<sup>151</sup>E. J. Waggoner, "Letter to the Romans.--No. 16," GCB, March 23, 1891, p. 238. Waggoner used the phrase "moment by moment" habitually in this particular lecture--the final for the series.

<sup>152</sup>"Justification, Regeneration, Sanctification," ST 17 (September 7, 1891): 282-83.

<sup>153</sup>Uriah Smith, "Man's Sin and Savior," ST 19 (November 7, 1892): 4 (this is no. 1). The last installment (no. 8) appeared on December 26, 1892, pp. 115-16.

opportunity to serve his denomination with his experienced mental and spiritual acuity. Apparently, in spite of having "fallen on the Rock" in repentance in 1891, he still maintained a distance from the doctrine. Roy Adams has commented:

In seeing the sanctuary as a prophetic bulwark for the perpetuity and bindingness of the ten commandments, Smith, unfortunately, was unable to appreciate the relevance and timeliness of the vital doctrine of righteousness by faith. This was perhaps the most serious theological distortion in Smith, directly attributable to his one-sided view of the sanctuary as an apologetic weapon.<sup>154</sup>

In 1893, Ellen White, writing from Australia, reminded her readers that it was possible for a person to forfeit justification after once receiving it. "It is by continued surrender of the will, by continued obedience," she said, "that the blessing of justification is retained."<sup>155</sup>

While a lot of written material on righteousness by faith continued to flow from the presses in the early to mid 1890s, much of what was written duplicated prior material. However, two "movements"--the revival of 1893 and the teachings on the nature of Christ--deserve the attention of this study.<sup>156</sup>

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<sup>154</sup>Adams, "The Doctrine of the Sanctuary," p. 93.

<sup>155</sup>E. G. White, "Justification by Faith," ST 19 (March 20, 1893): 311.

<sup>156</sup>There was another revival in the Battle Creek Church in 1894, but the motivating feature of that revival--the testimony of Anna Rice--makes it irrelevant

The 1893 Righteousness-by-  
Faith Revival

There was a revival in Adventism of more than ordinary magnitude in 1893. It is sometimes foolhardy to attempt to draw rigid lines of demarcation for certain historical events. It becomes even more complicated when spiritual and/or religious and social phenomena are interwoven in those events. The 1893 revival had deep roots. Its seeds were sown in 1888, with the first sprouts appearing at the 1889 revival. All by itself, however, 1893 can legitimately claim credit as a great revival year. A resurgence of the teaching of righteousness by faith at the 1893 General Conference session produced an extraordinary stir. In addition, 1893 stood in the shadow cast by the two momentous Sunday-law decisions of 1892--the February 29 decision in behalf of the Holy Trinity Corporation, which was supported by the concept that America was a Christian nation; and the August 5 decision for the closing the gates of the World's Fair on Sundays as a condition for receiving a government appropriation.

As shown above, those decisions galvanized Adventists in respect to their mission and commitment. They became confident that their apocalyptic vision was

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to this study. For a penetrating view of that revival as it involved some of the key leaders of the righteousness by faith revival in the 1890s, see Knight, From 1888 to Apostasy, pp. 95-107.

nearing reality. Ellen White had linked the Sunday law crisis with the loud cry of the third angel. Adventist preachers, especially A. T. Jones, fired up the membership to a high state of concern and expectancy. Jones's view of Ellen White's declaration in November 1892 that "the time of test is just upon us, for the loud cry of the third angel has already begun in the revelation of the righteousness of Christ" gave a strong emphasis to the revival.<sup>157</sup>

Consequently, the denomination shared some high spiritual experiences, testimony sessions, and deep heart searchings at camp meetings and other large gatherings. In Battle Creek, late in 1892, the Adventist community had a rich experience. Revival fervor was evident in the tabernacle services, at the college, at the Review and Herald office, and at the sanitarium.<sup>158</sup>

The longing of both leadership and laity was for the outpouring of the "latter rain."<sup>159</sup> As the "former

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<sup>157</sup>E. G. White, Great Controversy (1888), p. 434; idem, "The Perils and Privileges of the Last Days," RH 69 (November 22, 1892): 722.

<sup>158</sup>See Knight, From 1888 to Apostasy, pp. 90-91, for a good account of the revival that swept the Michigan Conference at its 1892 camp meeting. Jones was the keynote speaker. The opinion was that that revival was equal to, or even surpassed, the 1844 movement.

<sup>159</sup>"Latter rain" in Adventist parlance refers to the outpouring of the Holy Spirit upon God's people. It is a scriptural term (Joel 2:23). Adventists view the "fall" of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost as the "former rain." They view the promised fall in the "last days" as



rain," the outpouring of the Holy Spirit at Pentecost, brought immeasurable blessings to the first Christian church, even so Adventists longed for the latter rain. Its fall was crucial for the Adventist spiritual experience, and integral to their view of the "final events." Some leaders and people attending the 1893 General Conference session complained that though the latter rain had begun to fall at the 1888 session, many had failed to benefit from its power, because of their rejection of the righteousness-by-faith message. W. W. Prescott, for example, held that "for four years we have been in the time of the latter rain, and God wanted to pour out his Spirit" to advance His work with power.<sup>160</sup>

A section of the membership believed that new hope beckoned. The opportunity for study, prayer, confession, and heart searching was prominent at the 1893 session. Another chance to lay hold of the latter rain and bring in the "loud cry" was theirs. Anticipation ran high even before the 1893 session began. O. A. Olsen, president of the General Conference, announced that it was going to be "the most important meeting of the kind ever held" because everything was moving toward the final

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the latter rain that will "ripen the harvest of the earth," or spiritually prepare people for the second coming of Christ.

<sup>160</sup>A. T. Jones, "Third Angel's Message.--No. 16," GCB, February 24, 1893, p. 377; W. W. Prescott, "The Promise of the Holy Spirit.--No. 10," GCB, March 3, 1893, p. 463.

crisis."<sup>161</sup> The Adventists had an eschatological mindset.

The 1893 General Conference Session:  
Power Base of the Revival

The 1893 General Conference session, held from January 27 through March 2, was the power center of the 1893 revival. "Three hundred were present at the opening of the Institute" (or pre-session). Righteousness by faith, featuring variants on 1888 themes, was the main subject on the theological agenda. At the same time, the administration ordered its program in such a manner as to squelch the faux pas, the spirit of confusion and dissension, the villifications, and the character assassinations that were rife in 1888. A battery of speakers was lined up to ensure a spirit-filled session and the strengthening of the revival that had begun. Ten sermons on "The Study of the Bible" were given by S. N. Haskell. R. C. Porter spoke five times on "The Mind of Christ," and J. N. Loughborough spoke five times on "The Study of the Testimonies." Ten presentations on "The Promise of the Holy Spirit," by W. W. Prescott, provided great support for the messages of A. T. Jones. But it was the twenty-four messages by A. T. Jones on "The Third Angel's Message," that greatly inspired those in attendance.<sup>162</sup>

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<sup>161</sup>O. A. Olsen to W. C. White, January 25, 1893, quoted in Knight, From 1888 to Apostasy, p. 92.

<sup>162</sup>For a listing of the titles, see "Program for

Jones's Messages at 1893 Session:  
Influence on the 1893 Revival

Jones packed his twenty-four lectures on "The Third Angel's Message" with his evolving theology on righteousness by faith. He was the authoritative theologian at the 1893 session. According to Knight, "Jones was viewed as the spearhead of the latter rain movement. . . ."<sup>163</sup> Following one of his fervent presentations in which he reviewed both positive and negative happenings at Minneapolis, Olsen declared:

This place is becoming more and more solemn on account of the presence of God. I presume that none of us have ever before been in quite such a meeting as we are having at this time. The Lord is certainly coming very near. . . . I felt very solemn this evening. To me the place was terrible on account of God's nearness, on account of the solemn testimony that was borne to us here."<sup>164</sup>

In 1892 Ellen White had told the church that the time of peril in which they were living indicated that the second advent was near and that the "loud cry of the third angel" had begun in the revelation of the righteousness of Christ. She also said that the test through which the church must pass was imminent, for the signs that were then apparent indicated this.<sup>165</sup> Ellen White's

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the Institute," GCB, January 27, 1893, p. 1. The same source has a full reproduction of all the sermons.

<sup>163</sup>Knight, From 1888 to Apostasy, p. 91.

<sup>164</sup>O. A. Olsen, "The Ministry.--No. 1," GCB, February 8, 1893, p. 188.

<sup>165</sup>E. G. White, "The Perils and Privileges of the

conviction had a great impact on Jones, who told his audience that the message rejected in 1888 was the loud cry message, and that the latter rain had already begun to fall.<sup>166</sup>

Jones linked righteousness by faith to current issues on religious liberty (notably, the Sunday-closing legislation). Believing that the image of the beast had already been erected, he told his audience that "the next great, marked thing in the history of this world" would be the "seven last plagues," the "wine of the wrath of God" (Rev 14:10), and that the only protection from that wrath would be the "robe of Christ's righteousness." Thus he placed righteousness by faith on a new plane.<sup>167</sup>

Jones also linked health reform with righteousness by faith. Ellen White had, of course, long taught that health reform was given to fit the church for translation.<sup>168</sup>

Jones further taught that a person who possessed saving faith experienced justification and sanctification

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Last Days," RH 69 (November 22, 1892): 722. Ellen White sent this message from Australia. It was no proof, just the same, that she was in complete agreement with Jones's interpretation of her statement.

<sup>166</sup>A. T. Jones, "Third Angel's Message.--No. 7," GCB, February 6, 1893, p. 183.

<sup>167</sup>Idem, "Third Angel's Message.--No. 4," GCB, February 1, 1893, pp. 87-88.

<sup>168</sup>Ibid.; White, Testimonies, 1:486.

at the same time. He did not consider this view contradictory to the normal Adventist position (that sanctification was the work of a lifetime) but accepted both views. Jones saw Sabbath-keeping, as a sign of sanctification, a chief witness to a spiritual growth process;<sup>169</sup> and inasmuch as both sanctification and justification accrue from faith in Christ, he portrayed the Sabbath as inextricably bound up in the message of righteousness by faith.<sup>170</sup>

Jones's sermons had a tremendous impact, even though he manifested some of the same brashness that he had revealed in 1888. In attempting to deflect potential opposition, he warned "the oldest minister in our ranks" (evidently Uriah Smith), who ought to have said, "I do not know anything yet as I ought to know it."<sup>171</sup> Jones tended to be over-confident, repetitive, pedantic, overbearingly catechetic, and confrontational. But he knew what he wanted to accomplish and pursued his objective with zeal.

Jones consistently emphasized the point of total surrender to Christ. He said that it was the lack of

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<sup>169</sup>A. T. Jones, "Third Angel's Message.--No. 13," GCB, February 20, pp. 298-301.

<sup>170</sup>Idem, "Third Angel's Message.--No. 13," GCB, February 29, 1893, p. 302; idem, "Third Angel's Message.--No. 18," GCB, February 27, 1893, p. 416.

<sup>171</sup>Idem, "Third Angel's Message.--No. 1," GCB, January 27, 28, 1893, pp. 5-12.

total surrender that held back the full outpouring of the Holy Spirit. He was confident, however, that the session he was addressing would be graced with the outpouring for which the denomination had long looked.<sup>172</sup>

Prescott's Messages at the 1893  
General Conference Session

Prescott shared Jones's convictions. His ten presentations in 1893 on "The Promise of the Holy Spirit" complemented Jones's preaching. He, too, was convinced that God had sent a "special call to his people at [that] time," wanting to bestow His Holy Spirit upon the convocation.<sup>173</sup> He conceded that the Spirit of God had been given "here and there," but it was time for "more than the ordinary display." A deluge of power was needed. Prescott made grave appeals to the congregation:

We cannot come to this assembly, this institute and conference and go day after day in an easy-going manner. It is time for everyone to be trembling in earnest for his own soul. . . . There is an individual work for everyone of us to do in connection with this gathering, and that means solemn heart-searching before God, taking his word and repenting that we may have power.<sup>174</sup>

He devoted much time to appealing for the eradication of "the disposition to sin." If the light that was to

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<sup>172</sup>Idem "Third Angel's Message.--No. 17," GCB, February 26, 1893, p. 400.

<sup>173</sup>W. W. Prescott, "The Promise of the Holy Spirit.--No. 2," GCB, January 31, 1893, p. 67-68.

<sup>174</sup>Ibid., pp. 64, 67.

lighten the earth with its glory had "already begun to shine," he reasoned, then the "shaking time" had come when God would make a "separation in his own people."<sup>175</sup> With such thoughts in mind, he was sure that Pentecost was not the greatest thing that God could do for His people. Indeed, a greater work than Pentecost had already begun.<sup>176</sup>

After Jones's eighteenth presentation, a moving was visible among the people. Prescott became very excited, sure that the Spirit of God had descended and the latter rain was being poured out. "The times of refreshing are here, brethren," he declared. "The Spirit of God is here, open the heart; open the heart in praise and thanksgiving."<sup>177</sup>

There was a stir in 1893! Many persons experienced revival. However, Jones and Prescott seemingly conveyed two ideas about the latter rain. For example, on one hand, it was said that God "wants to bestow his Holy Spirit upon this people."<sup>178</sup> On the other hand, both Jones and Prescott believed that for "four years we

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<sup>175</sup>Idem, "The Promise of the Holy Spirit.--No. 1," GCB, January 30, 1893, p. 39

<sup>176</sup>Ibid.

<sup>177</sup>A. T. Jones, "Third Angel's Message.--No. 18," GCB, February 27, 1893, p. 417.

<sup>178</sup>W. W. Prescott, "The Promise of the Holy Spirit.--No. 2," GCB, January 31, 1893, p. 68.

have been in the time of the latter rain."<sup>179</sup> They mistakenly claimed that "Sister White [said] that we have been in the time of the latter rain since the Minneapolis meeting."<sup>180</sup>

Such statements appear to say two things: (1) the latter rain was yet to fall, and (2) the latter rain fell at Minneapolis. It is hardly likely that Jones and Prescott wanted to cause confusion but seemed to have considered the two ideas complementary: The preaching of righteousness by faith at Minneapolis was the signal that God was ready to pour out His Spirit upon His people; that the "time of the latter rain" had come. And while they believed that some persons had apparently received it, the greater manifestation, the "special outpouring,"<sup>181</sup> was being held back until the message of righteousness by faith had enveloped the mass of the people. Prescott stated that he would not be satisfied if the conference should pass "without a greater outpouring of the Spirit of God than we have experienced

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<sup>179</sup>Idem, "The Promise of the Holy Spirit.--No. 10," GCB, March 3, 1893, p. 463; A. T. Jones, "Third Angel's Message.--No. 7," GCB, February 7, 8, 1893, p. 183.

<sup>180</sup>A. T. Jones, "Third Angel's Message.--No. 16," GCB, February 24, 1893, p. 377. Ellen White spoke of the church as being in the time of the loud cry since 1888. She did not say the time of the latter rain.

<sup>181</sup>W. W. Prescott, "The Promise of the Holy Spirit.--No. 2," GCB, January 31, 1893, p. 64.



yet.<sup>182</sup> In summary, Jones and Prescott believed that the potential was there, and that it was up to the people to be ready vessels to receive it, for "the presence of sin and the practice of iniquity is what hinders it."<sup>183</sup> The 1893 session did not stop further penetration into righteousness-by-faith theology. The new emphasis on the teaching had most decidedly come to stay in Adventism. It is important to note that it became integrated with Seventh-day Adventist eschatology. This link would be treated after the discussion on the divine-human nature of Christ, which was emphasized in connection with the resurgence of the teaching on righteousness by faith.

The Divine-Human Nature of Christ and  
the Doctrine of Righteousness  
by Faith, 1889-1895

In consequence of their renewed emphasis on Christ in 1888, Adventists in the 1890s became more interested in the doctrine of the divine-human nature of Christ. Although the issue did not mature into a debate at that time, the inquiry into the subject continued over into the twentieth century, and became an integral part of the debate on the atonement in the 1950s.<sup>184</sup>

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<sup>182</sup>Idem, "The Promise of the Holy Spirit.--No. 8," GCB, February 24, 1893, p. 384.

<sup>183</sup>Idem, "The Promise of the Holy Spirit.--No. 2," GCB, January 31, 1893, p. 64

<sup>184</sup>pitted against key officials of Adventism, M. L. Andreasen was at the center of that debate involving the sanctuary. Christology was obviously a cognate, even

In order to firmly establish the developing doctrine of righteousness by faith, some leaders saw the necessity of presenting Christ's credentials for imputing such righteousness. This involved them in part in writing and lecturing on the nature of Christ--but no attempt is made here to present a detailed study of their discussions.

Waggoner's Christology: Link  
with Righteousness by Faith

E. J. Waggoner began teaching about the human-divine nature of Christ before 1888. A general overview of Waggoner's Christology is sufficient for our purpose, which is to relate the impact of righteousness by faith on the development of Adventist eschatology. Eric Claude Webster treated Waggoner's Christology in a work that was published in 1984, and in 1988 Clinton Wahlen produced a study on Waggoner's eschatology.<sup>185</sup>

As early as 1884 Waggoner taught that Christ was

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a core consideration. For an insightful treatment of Andreasen's sanctuary beliefs, see Adams, "Doctrine of the Sanctuary," pp. 165-235.

<sup>185</sup>See, Eric Claude Webster, Crosscurrents in Adventist Christology (New York: Peter Lang, 1984), pp. 157-247. Webster, in his controversial work, has treated Waggoner's Christology thematically over three chronological periods: 1883 to 1888, 1888 to 1892, and 1892 to 1916. This book is the published form of Webster's Th.D. dissertation, "A Critical Analysis of Christology in Seventh-day Adventism," University of Stellenbosch, 1982.

Clinton Wahlen, in "Waggoner's Eschatology," has pointed out that Waggoner placed emphasis on "fitness for judgment and Christ's return." The human-divine Christ offers salvation by faith to fit people for the judgment (pp. 40-51).

preexistent and fully divine; that he had "life in himself," and was equal to the Father. He noted that a oneness existed between Father and Son and drew attention to the fact that both accepted worship. "This divine oneness, then," declared Waggoner, "is that of two distinct individuals having the same thoughts, the same purposes, [and] the same attributes."<sup>186</sup>

After the landmark 1888 conference, Waggoner continued to pursue the subject on the nature of Christ in a more extended manner. In 1889 he produced several articles on divinity.<sup>187</sup>

In 1890, in the earlier sections of Christ and His Righteousness, Waggoner wrote about the origin, incarnation, divinity, and humanity of Christ, and about His role in creation. But he was not interested in Christology for its own sake, or as an academic exercise. Waggoner wanted to demonstrate that Christ possesses the necessary qualifications to bestow righteousness in response to saving faith.<sup>188</sup>

With regard to the humanity of Christ, Waggoner

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<sup>186</sup>E. J. Waggoner, "An Important Question," ST 10 (June 19, 1884): 377; idem, "Eternal Life," ST 10 (August 28, 1884): 522; idem, "Eternal Life," ST 10 (September 4, 1884): 538; idem, "Comments on Galatians 3," ST 12 (August 19, 1886): 502.

<sup>187</sup>In 1889 Waggoner published six articles on "The Divinity of Christ." These appeared in ST 15 on March 25; April 1, 8, 15, and 22; and May 6.

<sup>188</sup>Idem, Christ and His Righteousness, pp.57-69.

accepted the mystery of the incarnation. He believed that Christ, while on earth, was fully God as well as fully man. In a keynote article on Christ's humanity, "God Manifest in the Flesh," Waggoner stated that "the flesh which he [Christ] assumed had all the weaknesses and sinful tendencies to which fallen human nature is subject." He perceived Christ as having "suffered all the infirmities and passions of his brethren." At the same time, even though Waggoner taught that Christ was "not only counted a sinner, but actually [took] upon himself sinful nature," he emphasized that Christ in His humanity was "sinless."<sup>189</sup> Further still, he stated that Jesus could never have sinned because of His divinity.<sup>190</sup>

Waggoner's view concerning a "sinless" human Christ, when put in juxtaposition with his view that Christ had "all the weaknesses and sinful tendencies [of] . . . sinful human nature," is of cardinal importance to his belief in "pattern" or "example" theology (i.e., that Christ is our model and offers Himself as the living blueprint for us to follow). He argued that if Christ, who adopted a sinful, human nature resisted temptation and was sinless, then, Christians could do the

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<sup>189</sup>Idem, "God Manifest in the Flesh," ST 15 (January 21, 1889): 38, 39; idem, Gospel in Galatians, pp. 26-27; idem, "The Divinity of Christ," BE 4 (September 18, 1889): 281.

<sup>190</sup>E. J. Waggoner, "God Manifest in the Flesh," ST 15 (January 21, 1889): 39.

same, empowered by Christ. He fervently believed that the power of Christ in the "heart" or mind would produce sinless living, perfect obedience, and a decisive victory over all lust, since Christ would do the obeying in behalf of the Christian. Christ's life would be potently demonstrable in the believer's. Waggoner grounded his conviction on "the power of the resurrection" and "the power of God's forgiveness."<sup>191</sup> He concluded:

Therefore we know the power of the resurrection of Christ only by experiencing the same power in the forgiveness of sins and overcoming sin. Thus we share now in the resurrection of Christ. . . .<sup>192</sup>

It is the power of God's forgiveness, and that alone, that keeps the [Christian] from sin. If [one] continues in sin after receiving pardon, it is because he has not grasped the fulness [sic] of the blessing that was given . . . in the forgiveness of sins.<sup>193</sup>

Essentially, Waggoner held that one who has fully "grasped" the offerings of God (through the forgiveness of sins, predicated upon the life and resurrection of Christ) could not sin. He was convinced that the "same power that raised Christ from the dead can quicken us." That power would produce in the believer "the same

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<sup>191</sup>Idem, "The Power of the Resurrection," BE 8 (August 15, 1893): 250-51. Waggoner and Jones did not use the term "pattern," or "example theology." It is possible that different persons could ascribe different meanings to the term other than what Waggoner and Jones originally meant, but in this study it simply means that Christ offers an example that can be followed.

<sup>192</sup>Ibid.

<sup>193</sup>E. J. Waggoner, "The Power of Forgiveness," BE 8 (November 1, 1893): 345-46.

characteristics that the life of Christ presented when he was on earth in person."<sup>194</sup>

It is clear that Waggoner rooted his pattern theology in his belief in the divinity of Christ. Webster has pointed out that Waggoner rejected the idea of a "'dormant divinity in Christ during His earthly ministry."<sup>195</sup> Waggoner declared: "'God was in Christ,' and hence he could not sin. His humanity only veiled his divine nature, which was more than able to successfully resist the sinful passions of the flesh."<sup>196</sup> For those who despair that human beings could not imitate Christ because of His divine advantage, Waggoner allayed such apprehension by noting that Christ offers the same divine power to the believer. He claimed that "we are one flesh with Christ" and referred to the "mystery of the Incarnation appearing again" in the believer.<sup>197</sup>

Waggoner's concept of an active Christ, bonding powerfully and existentially with the life of the Christian, on account of faith, was biblically firm. For

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<sup>194</sup>Idem, "The New Life in Christ," BE 2 (March 1, 1893): 73, 74.

<sup>195</sup>Webster, Crosscurrents, p. 185. Ellen White believed in an active divinity in Christ while He was on earth. She wrote about divinity flashing through humanity.

<sup>196</sup>E. J. Waggoner, "God Manifest in the Flesh," ST 15 (January 21, 1889): 39.

<sup>197</sup>Idem, "Letter the Romans, No. 12," GCB, March 19, 1891, p. 185.

example, with regard to his concept concerning the union of the human mind with Christ's, Waggoner adopted and rephrased Pauline Christology. His "pattern" theology grew in intensity during the years beyond the limits of this study.<sup>198</sup>

#### Waggoner's Variant Christology

Waggoner was mostly orthodox in his Christology. However, there is an aspect of his teaching about Christ that needs brief treatment. Waggoner associated himself with the remnants of an endemic semi-Arianism that had affected the denomination's early leaders, including his own father.<sup>199</sup> E. J. Waggoner affirmed that "Christ is the Son of God by birth," and that "there was a time when Christ proceeded forth and came from God, . . . but that time was so far back in the days of eternity that to finite comprehension it is practically without beginning."<sup>200</sup> Before Christ and His Righteousness (1890) appeared, Waggoner had said that

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<sup>198</sup>Waggoner adopted and rephrased Pauline theology. See, Phil 2:5: "Let this mind be in you, which was also in Christ Jesus."

<sup>199</sup>J. H. Waggoner, The Atonement (Oakland, Calif.: Pacific Press, 1884). Waggoner rejected Trinitarianism. For a good treatment of some arian views in early Adventism, see Erwin Roy Gane, "The Arian and Anti-Trinitarian Views Presented in Seventh-day Adventist Literature and the Ellen G. White Answer," M. A. thesis, Andrews University, 1963.

<sup>200</sup>E. J. Waggoner, Christ and His Righteousness, pp. 21-22.

in arguing the perfect equality of the Father and the Son, and the fact that Christ is in very nature God, we do not design to be misunderstood as teaching that the Father was not before the Son. . . . While both are of the same nature, the Father is first in point of time. He is also greater in that He had no beginning, while Christ's personality had a beginning.<sup>201</sup>

By limiting Christ to a "beginning" in time, Waggoner denied Christ the divinity that he himself believed Christ possesses. He misinterpreted the words of Christ recorded in John 8:42: "I proceeded forth and came from God . . . [who] sent me" to mean Christ's origin from "far back in the ages of eternity,"<sup>202</sup> instead of His incarnation.

Even though Arianism had tainted the Christology of some early Adventist leaders, it is difficult to understand how Waggoner, reputed for clear thinking and systematic conclusions, made such a mistake. He who had assumed the task of moving Adventist theology from its traditional moorings with regard to the law in Galatians and righteousness by faith, found it almost impossible to extricate himself from the diminished Christology that had come through from the 1840s.

Waggoner's Christology passed without contention because (1) it was not the burning issue; (2) it did not sound new, or strange; and (3) it was so enwrapped in a positive Christology that it went unnoticed.

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<sup>201</sup>Idem, "The Divinity of Christ," BE 4 (September 16, 1889): 281.

<sup>202</sup>Idem, Christ and His Righteousness, pp. 19-22.



Waggoner's Christology,  
Righteousness by Faith,  
and Adventist Eschatology

The important concern of this section is to note the link that Waggoner made between the nature of Christ and righteousness by faith and their relationship to Adventist eschatology.

Waggoner's Christology linked the power of Christ's example with the message of righteousness by faith. Since Christ in His human nature conquered sin and lived righteously, committed followers of Christ can also live righteously in the flesh, i.e., without sinning. He wrote of the power "we may have dwelling in us by grace"; of Christ's life that we may have--a "life [that] is righteousness"; of the fact that "we can receive this life by faith"; and of "the mystery of the Incarnation appearing again" in us.<sup>203</sup>

Waggoner, in accepting "in the most emphatic manner that [Christ] is God,"<sup>204</sup> also accepted the biblical witness that Christ created all things and upholds that creation by the "word of His power."<sup>205</sup> Human beings are

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<sup>203</sup>Idem, "God Manifest in the Flesh," ST 15 (January 21, 1889): 38, 39; idem, "The New Life in Christ," BE 8 (March 1, 1893): 73-74; idem, "Letter to the Romans.--No. 12," GCB, March 19, 1891, p. 185

<sup>204</sup>Idem, Christ and His Righteousness, p. 13.

<sup>205</sup>Ibid., p. 17; Heb 1:3. Waggoner, a true trinitarian, injected a caution: "Let no one imagine," he said, "that we would exalt Christ at the expense of the Father." He shared "equality with the Father" (p. 19).

a part of His creation. The righteous law of God demands righteousness from human beings who have fallen into sin, "but the law has not a particle of righteousness to bestow upon any man."<sup>206</sup> How then must righteousness be gotten? Waggoner's answer was not new; he formed it, however, around Christ as God, Christ who exhibited creative power, and Christ who framed the righteous law and was obedient to it in His incarnated state--and manifested the power of the resurrection." Those credentials gave Christ the authority to transfer His righteousness to the sinner, in response to the sinner's saving faith. Christ's initial power that wrought creation is more than sufficient to effect "re-creation," that is, the transforming of human lives through justification and sanctification.<sup>207</sup> Let Waggoner summarize his position:

The argument, concisely stated is this: 1. Faith in God is begotten by a knowledge of His power. . . . 2. An intelligent contemplation of God's creation gives a true conception of His power. . . . 3. It is faith that gives the victory (1 John 5:4). . . .

This is the import. . . . The same power that was put forth to create the worlds is put forth for the sanctification of those who yield themselves to the will of God.<sup>208</sup>

Eschatologically, righteousness by faith anticipates the ultimate "deliverance from bondage,"<sup>209</sup> the

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<sup>206</sup>Ibid., p. 55.

<sup>207</sup>Ibid., p. 37.

<sup>208</sup>Ibid., pp. 36, 37.

<sup>209</sup>Ibid., pp. 85-96.

bondage of the power and presence of sin. When humans, through faith in Jesus Christ, are delivered now from the power of sin, the guarantee is inherent that at the second coming of Christ they will be delivered from its presence. Deliverance from the presence of sin presupposes the destruction of the active environment of sin when Christ returns.

Another important aspect of Waggoner's eschatology in relation to his Christology concerns the judgment. The question as to whether Waggoner wrote precisely about two phases of judgment, consonant with the standard Adventist position (at least by the mid 1890s), is not only beside the point, but unimportant here.<sup>210</sup> The crucial idea is that Waggoner taught that only the "pure in heart," those whose "words and thoughts are . . . established" will attain fitness for judgment and the reception of Christ at the second advent. Waggoner made it clear that "fitness" for judgment is available on account of Christ's ability and authority to offer salvation by faith,<sup>211</sup> the ability and authority that was manifested while He was incarnated in human flesh.

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<sup>210</sup>Wahlen, in treating Waggoner's eschatology together with the sanctuary and judgment doctrine, said that while Waggoner might have "had in mind two separate phases of judgment, . . . at least in his published works he did not so distinguish them" ("Waggoner's Eschatology," p. 45).

<sup>211</sup>E. J. Waggoner, "Words and Thoughts," ST 13 (May 19, 1887): 295.

Jones's Christology: Link  
with Righteousness by Faith

Jones taught in 1895 that the human nature of Christ differed in no way from that of other human beings. Following up his presentations on the "Third Angel's Message" at the 1893 General Conference session, he delivered twenty-six sermons at the 1895 session bearing the same title. He had touched upon the idea of Jesus having the same human nature as ours in 1893, but he went more fully into the theory in 1895.<sup>212</sup>

Jones stood on the same ground as Waggoner in his Christology, stating unequivocally that the flesh and blood of Christ and those of human beings were the same. "On the human side Christ's nature [was] precisely our nature," said Jones. "There was not a particle of difference."<sup>213</sup>

Jones held that Adam's pre-fall nature stood, in a sense, above the human nature of Christ, for He was "as the first Adam had caused his descendants to be at the time at which he came." Genealogically, as Adam is manifested in the rest of the human family, just so, the "law of heredity reached from Adam to the flesh of Jesus."<sup>214</sup>

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<sup>212</sup>A. T. Jones, "Third Angel's Message.--No. 10," GCB, February 9, 1893, p. 207.

<sup>213</sup>Idem, "Third Angel's Messages.--No. 13," GCB, February 19, 1895, pp. 231-33.

<sup>214</sup>Idem, "Third Angel's Messages.--No. 14," GCB, February 21, 1895, p. 266.

Jones did not leave his audience in doubt regarding what he had in mind. He boldly stated that Jesus had "tendencies to sin."

Thus in the flesh of Jesus Christ,--not in himself, but in his flesh,--our flesh which he took in human nature,--there were just the same tendencies to sin that are in you and me. . . . These tendencies to sin that were in his flesh, drew upon him, and sought to entice him, to consent to wrong. But by the love of God and by his trust in God, he received the power, and the strength, and the grace to say, "No," to all of it, and put it all under foot.<sup>215</sup>

Jones apparently met with some opposition to his theory. His opposers were quoting from Ellen White's statement which affirmed that Christ "is a brother in our infirmities, but not in possessing like passions." Arguments in his sixteenth and seventeenth lectures at the 1895 session indicate that he probably addressed those who did not agree that Christ had "'like passions' with us."<sup>216</sup> Jones aggressively defended his point of view and made a studied effort to amplify his theory further by stating that

in the Scriptures all the way through he is like us, and with us according to the flesh. . . . Don't go too far. He was made in the likeness of sinful flesh, not in the likeness of sinful mind. Do not drag his mind into it. His flesh was our flesh; but the mind was "the mind of Christ Jesus."<sup>217</sup>

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<sup>215</sup>Ibid.

<sup>216</sup>E. G. White, Testimonies, 2:202; A. T. Jones, "Third Angel's Message.--No. 17," GCB, February 25, 1895, pp. 312, 327.

<sup>217</sup>A. T. Jones, "Third Angel's Message.--No. 17," GCB, p. 327.

Seemingly, Jones had laid the groundwork in his twelfth lecture for the position he took in the above quotation. In that lecture, he presented a dichotomy between "mind" and "flesh." By sinning, Jones observed, Adam received the mind of Satan, causing all humans to be separated from God.<sup>218</sup> So, while the post-fall Adam had "sinful flesh" and "sinful mind," Christ had only "sinful flesh," not "sinful mind."<sup>219</sup>

Jones added a third category to his "flesh" and "mind" theory--"the realm of the thoughts." He said that

. . . the battlefield . . . is right upon the line between the flesh and the mind. The battle is fought in the realm of the thoughts. The battle against the flesh, I mean, is fought altogether, and the victory is won, in the realm of the thoughts.<sup>220</sup>

Interestingly, he positioned the "realm of the thoughts" between the flesh and the mind. Had Jones equated the mind with the brain, and labeled the thinking processes as "thoughts"? Another problem: if Jesus had "tendencies to sin," but did not have a "sinful mind," then, from what faculty were the sinful tendencies prompted? It seems

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<sup>218</sup>Idem, "Third Angel's Messages.--No. 12," GCB, February 18, 1895, p. 216.

<sup>219</sup>E. G. White, Testimonies, 2:201, 202; A. T. Jones, "Third Angel's Message.--No. 17," GCB, February 25, 1895, p. 327.

<sup>220</sup>A. T. Jones, "Third Angel's Message.--No. 17," GCB, February 25, 1895, p. 328. The mode of expressing biological and psychological functions in the nineteenth century was obviously different from the way such functions are addressed today.

that Jones's concepts in this area are not very clear.<sup>221</sup>

Like Waggoner, Jones formed his concepts of "pattern" or "example" theology around his Christological views. He believed that "just as certainly as" a person would "empty himself of self, as Christ did, so certainly will the Father be to him, and in him, what He was to the Son, and in the Son." Jones made the Pauline counsel to "Let this mind be in you, which was also in Christ Jesus" (Phil 2:5) central to his view of example theology. "Jesus is the example in all true living," he stated. Tolerating no alternative to complete submission to Christ, he added that "with the mind we are" to live successfully obedient lives.<sup>222</sup> It would appear that Jones repeated the word "certainly" to drive home his point:

So certainly as we will let this mind be in us, so certainly it will be in us; and so certainly as it is in us, so certainly it will do in us what it did in Christ; and so certainly that which appeared in Christ will appear in us.<sup>223</sup>

Two points are important at this juncture: (1) Jones's Christology was not a denominational issue in the 1890s, and (2) Jones based his theology of righteousness by faith upon his Christological views.

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<sup>221</sup>Maybe this was Jones's way of expressing the strong predisposition of the carnal nature to sin.

<sup>222</sup>A. T. J[ones], "The Spirit of Christ as Manifested in His Work for the Salvation of Man," PT [British] 8 (February 11, 1892): 40-42.

<sup>223</sup>Ibid. Emphasis supplied.

Jones's theory concerning Christ's human nature did not teach that Christ sinned. On the contrary, he said that Christ did not sin in spite of having "sinful tendencies" in His nature. Rather, Christ "conquered them all." He had a "mind that held its integrity against every temptation, against every inducement to sin." Consequently, when the sinner through faith in the conversion process receives the mind of Jesus, then Christ's victory over sin becomes the sinner's victory over sin. The receiving of the mind of Christ was a key idea to Jones in linking Christology with righteousness by faith,<sup>224</sup> and as already noted above, he leaned heavily on the Pauline admonition: "'Let this mind be in you, which was also in Christ Jesus (Phil 2:5).'"<sup>225</sup>

"Who was he?--We." Jones asked and answered the question in expressing the concept of Christ being the "representative Man." Prescott also developed the theme of the representative Man" in his 1895 sermons.<sup>226</sup> Since "he was we," then His faith would be our faith, said Jones. He then presented a crisp summation of that concept:

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<sup>224</sup>Idem, "Third Angel's Message.--No. 14," GCB, February 21, 1895, p. 266.

<sup>225</sup>A. T. Jones, "The Spirit of Christ as Manifested in His Work for the Salvation of Man," PT [British] 8 (February 21, 1892): 40-42.

<sup>226</sup>W. W. Prescott, "The Divine-Human Family.--No. 2," GCB, February 6, 1895, pp. 24-26.



When he stood where we are, he said, "I will put my trust in Him;" and that trust was never disappointed. In response to that trust, the Father dwelt in Him and with him, and kept him from sinning. Who was he?--We. And thus the Lord Jesus has brought to every man in this world divine faith. That is the faith of the Lord Jesus.--That is saving faith. Faith is not something that comes from ourselves, with which we believe upon him; but it is that something with which he believed,--the faith which he exercised, which he brings to us, and which becomes ours, and works in us,--the gift of God.<sup>227</sup>

According to Jones, the faith exercised in righteousness by faith is Christ's faith. All that the sinner can bring to the transaction is trust in Christ, as Christ in His human nature had trust in His Father who, in turn, gave him faith.

In summary, Jones linked the nature of Christ and righteousness by faith by arguing that: Christ took our sinful nature; He had the tendencies to sin, but He did not sin. Consequently, "in him we all have victory over . . . all" sinful tendencies. Righteousness is imputed as a gift on account of faith. That faith is Christ's faith, working in the one who trusts Him. The relationship with Christ works for the development and finally the reproduction of Christ's character in the life of the Christian in preparation for citizenship in God's kingdom--now and hereafter. Eschatological ramifications shine forth from Jones's teachings. He believed that righteousness by faith is a pledge to the human family,

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<sup>227</sup>A. T. Jones, "Third Angel's Message.--No. 14," GCB, February 21, 1895, p. 270. Emphasis supplied.

a surety or a guarantee that sin is conquerable in the flesh, a necessary prerequisite for those preparing for the second advent of Christ.

Prescott's Christology: Link  
with Righteousness by Faith

Prescott held some views about the nature of Christ that were consonant with Waggoner's and Jones's. At the 1895 General Conference session, he presented five sermons on "The Divine Human Family,"<sup>228</sup> throughout which he emphasized the idea of Christ being the representative Man. Christ came to earth, he said, to "dwell in us, to take our flesh, our sinful flesh. . . . He gathered together in himself all humanity." When Jesus took human flesh, he became "the representative of humanity, and all humanity centered in him." As Christ took human flesh, humans "were there in him and he in us." At the crucifixion, said Prescott, "that body was our flesh, and we were there in him," and when Christ died, we also died to the law.<sup>229</sup>

Prescott did not specifically state in these lectures that Christ, in His human nature, had tendencies to sin. He came close to the idea by speaking about

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<sup>228</sup>In addition to the five lectures on "The Divine Human Family," Prescott presented another series of ten lectures at the 1895 session entitled the "Word of God."

<sup>229</sup>W. W. Prescott, "The Divine-Human Family.--No. 2," GCB, February 6, 1895, pp. 24-26.

Christ "taking our nature, our sinful flesh."<sup>230</sup> Later, in October 1895, as he spoke at the Armadale camp meeting in Australia, Prescott repeated the point that "it was in sinful flesh that He [Christ] was tempted," and that "He took our place completely,"<sup>231</sup> but he did not outrightly say that Jesus had tendencies to sin. (Quite likely, Prescott held the same view as Waggoner and Jones.)

Prescott's best effort to show the connection between the nature of Christ and righteousness by faith came out in his treatment of justification. He offered four biblical ways to attain justification. Two are Christ's doings--His grace (Titus 3:7) and His blood (Rom 5:9). Two are "our part" in the transaction--faith (Rom 5:1) and works (Jas 2:24). On Christ's part, while grace is the "source of all justification," the blood ("his life") is the "divine channel," the conduit to pass justification from Christ to human beings. As to our part, Prescott held faith as the method used by individuals to understand and apply to their own situation the justification of Christ that was made possible by grace and blood.

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<sup>230</sup>Idem, "The Divine-Human Family.--No. 4," GCB, February 8, 1895, p. 108.

<sup>231</sup>W. W. Prescott, "The Word Became Flesh," BE 11 (January 6, 1896): 4-5; see also, idem, "The Word Became Flesh," BE 11 (January 13, 1896): 12-13. Prescott stated clearly, however, that while "Jesus Christ had exactly the same flesh that we bear,--the flesh of sin, flesh in which we sin, . . . He did not sin" (p. 5).

Finally, works are the "outward evidences" to show that individuals have "applied by faith the justification which comes from grace through [Christ's] blood."<sup>232</sup>

To prevent anyone from concluding that he was presenting salvation either by faith alone or by works alone, Prescott clarified his position. The person who has been justified by grace produces "works of faith." Actually, "Christ's works appear" in that life, and not just human works. "This ought to do away with the argument," said Prescott,

as to whether we are justified by faith or works, or whether it is by grace, or how it is. One who is truly justified personally, must be justified by every one of them [the four sources or methods]. And when one who is truly justified, manifests one of the four, the other three are all implied.<sup>233</sup>

Prescott adopted the accepted understanding in Adventism that justification "is altogether imputed righteousness," and that it was offered as a gift to humans when Jesus was given to humanity. He drove home his argument by adding that that "righteousness is our righteousness" in view of the fact that humans were in Christ "when that righteousness was wrought."<sup>234</sup>

With regard to sanctification, in contrast to Jones who believed that justification and sanctification

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<sup>232</sup>Idem, "The Divine-Human Family.--No. 3," GCB, February 4, 1895, p. 44

<sup>233</sup>Ibid.

<sup>234</sup>Ibid., pp. 44-45.

are simultaneous experiences, Prescott believed that sanctification comes after justification, not being present at the initial justification of the individual. But, after submitting and yielding to Christ, His righteousness ("which is life") works in the individual to form a union with Christ. The flow of divine life into the individual then effects sanctification.<sup>235</sup>

Prescott's eschatology shone through clearly. The series on "The Divine Human Family" concerns, ultimately, the reconnection of the human family with God, not only in this life, but throughout future time. Getting the people ready for the second advent was a priority on Prescott's agenda.

The twentieth-century debate in Adventism as to whether justification and sanctification could be compartmentalized, and whether one or two experiences are meant, is an unnecessary concern. The crux of the matter is that Christ offers righteousness in response to saving faith, which is itself also a gift.

The research and the discussion above attempt to show that the theology of righteousness by faith grew significantly during the years 1889 through 1895. The revived emphasis on the doctrine contributed in a marked manner to the development of Seventh-day Adventist eschatology.

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<sup>235</sup>Ibid., p. 45

The Significance of Righteousness by Faith to the  
Development of Seventh-day Adventist  
Eschatology, 1889-1895

The growth of the teaching on righteousness by faith contributed significantly to the development of Seventh-day Adventist eschatology between 1889 and 1895. The doctrine added new insights to some of the eschatological views that were already held by Adventists.

Eschatology is generally viewed as the study of the cosmic intervention of God in the affairs of this world through awesome end-time events. Seventh-day Adventists, however, had developed some unique aspects of eschatology. The core of this eschatological understanding was the church's teaching on the third angel's message. Significantly, between 1889 and 1895, righteousness by faith became fused, even central, to what may be called a unique Adventist eschatology.

The mention of at least five selected developmental aspects demonstrate the impact of righteousness by faith on eschatology: (1) the link with the third angel's message, (2) the link with the latter rain and loud cry, (3) outgrowths from the nature of Christ theology, (4) health reform and the preparation for translation motif, and, (5) the concept of the "inheritance."

Righteousness by Faith and  
the Third Angel's Message

Righteousness by faith emerged as an intrinsic component of the third angel's message during the period

under consideration. In 1890 Ellen White announced that she had received several inquiries asking "if the message of justification by faith is the third angel's message." She replied: "It is the third angel's message in verity."<sup>236</sup> Adventists used the "third angel's message" to refer to: the messages of the three angels of Rev 14; the message of the third angel only; the entire gospel story, be it Christological, eschatological, or missiological; the sanctuary corpus; or, generally, to their total salvation experience.<sup>237</sup>

Consonant with the purpose of this study, the eschatological aspect of the third angel's message receives most emphasis. That third message of Rev 14:9-12 warns of the cataclysmic intervention of God in the affairs of this world in reaction to human worship of the "beast and his image." The climax of the message in v. 12 accords words of approbation to those who have "the patience of the saints" and "keep the commandments of God, and the faith of Jesus." God's intervention in the affairs of the earth will end with a triumph for His people at the second advent of Christ. Rev 14:14 presents a prophetic picture of Christ sitting "upon the cloud . . . having on his head a golden crown, and in his

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<sup>236</sup>E. G. White, "Repentance the Gift of God," RH 67 (April 1, 1890): 193.

<sup>237</sup>See pp. 82-84 above for mention of the third angel's message among the early Sabbatarian Adventists.

hand a sharp sickle." The third angel's message is a concept that was dominant in nineteenth-century Seventh-day Adventist eschatology.

Consequently, when Ellen White announced that "justification by faith . . . is the third angel's message in verity," righteousness by faith assumed not only a central position, but a dominant one within the framework of late nineteenth-century Adventist eschatology. The notable aspect of this development is heightened when it is considered that before 1888 Seventh-day Adventist writers tended to emphasize the commandments of God when they read Rev 14:12. Faith in Christ as the only way to salvation was "largely left out, not only of the discourses given but of the religious experience of very many who claim[ed] to believe the third angel's message," complained Ellen White in 1888.<sup>238</sup> She further pointed out at that time the need for a proper understanding of the two concepts in Rev 14:12, when she observed that

the third angel's message is the proclamation of the commandments of God and the faith of Jesus Christ. The commandments of God have been proclaimed, but the faith of Jesus has not been proclaimed by Seventh-day Adventists as of equal importance, the law and the gospel going hand in hand. . . .<sup>239</sup>

After 1888, however, writers like Ellen White, A. T. Jones, and E. J. Waggoner began to emphasize the faith of Jesus as saving faith. (Heretofore Adventists had

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<sup>238</sup>E. G. White, MS 24, 1888, EGWE-AU

<sup>239</sup>Ibid.



interpreted the term as the teachings of Jesus in the whole Bible.) They now had a far richer message. In 1894 White firmly counseled that "the great center of attraction, Jesus Christ, must not be left out of the third angel's message."<sup>240</sup>

Of cardinal significance is the fact that the Sunday-law crisis (which gave meaning to the part of the third angel's message that warns against the worship of the "beast and his image") provided urgency and prominence to the place that righteousness by faith held for Adventists in their preparation for the second advent that they believed was imminent. It is reasonable to state, therefore, that the influence of the Sunday-law crisis on Adventist thinking, combined with the growth of the teaching of righteousness by faith, produced novel dimensions for the third angel's message. Thus--though at opposite poles conceptually--the Sunday-law crisis and righteousness by faith, became complementary in their impact on Adventist eschatology from 1889 through 1895.

The "Latter Rain" and "Loud Cry":  
Link with Righteousness by Faith

In 1893 two important elements of Adventist eschatology were emphasized. They were the "latter rain" and the "loud cry." A. T. Jones and W. W. Prescott mistakenly believed that these two teachings of the

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<sup>240</sup>Idem, Selected Messages, 1:383-84.

church were mutually inclusive, when they presented their righteousness-by-faith messages at the 1893 General Conference session. Adventists were told at those meetings that the "latter rain--the loud cry--according to the testimony and Scripture, is 'the teaching of righteousness by faith.'"<sup>241</sup> In spite of the mistake made by Jones and Prescott in fusing the two teachings, the significance of their contribution is the relationship that they pointed out between the latter rain, the loud cry, and righteousness by faith.

The loud cry in Adventist eschatological understanding means an escalated promulgation of the gospel by the joining of the message of the "third angel" of Rev 14:9-12 with the message of "another angel" of Rev 18:1-4. Empowered by the Holy Spirit (seen as the falling of the "latter rain" symbolism), Adventists envisioned that the amalgamation would produce phenomenal results.

The majority of key leaders were convinced that Christ's second advent would be delayed, that their eschatological hopes would be deferred, until the denomination had experienced the latter rain and the loud cry. Jones and Prescott led out in the belief that the completion of the spiritual tasks of the church, prior to the second advent, depended upon their full acceptance of righteousness by faith. And, crucial in understanding

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<sup>241</sup>E. J. Waggoner, "Letter to the Romans.--No. 5," GCB, March 12, 1891, p. 86.

their perspective, we must note again the view they held that "the latter rain--the loud cry--according to the testimony and Scripture, is 'the teaching of righteousness by faith.'"<sup>242</sup>

This heightened emphasis on righteousness by faith within the context of the latter rain and the loud cry was not an accident. The teaching became appropriate and necessary due to its historical setting, on account of the Sunday-law crisis that served as a powerful catalyst in sparking a consciousness that the second advent was near. Adventist response to the Sunday-legislation efforts in the period under consideration ignited a spiritual renewal.

Olsen yearned for the latter rain and the loud cry. At the 1893 meetings he said the meeting place had become charged with the presence of God "on account of the solemn testimony" Jones had borne in a particular presentation.<sup>243</sup> To repeat evidence cited above, Jones, at the 1893 session, quoted a part of a message from Ellen White stating that

the time of test is just upon us, for the loud cry of the third angel has already begun in the revelation of the righteousness of Christ, the sin pardoning redeemer. This is the beginning of the light of the angel whose glory shall fill the whole earth. . . .  
If you would stand through the time of trouble,

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<sup>242</sup>Ibid.

<sup>243</sup>Idem, "Letter to the Romans.--No. 12," GCB, February 8, 1893, p. 188; Knight, From 1888 to Apostasy, p. 91.

you must know Christ, and appropriate the gift of His righteousness, which he imputes to the repentant sinner.<sup>244</sup>

A constellation of Adventist eschatological concepts are summed up in the above statement--"time of test," "loud cry," "third angel," "light [filling] the earth" (a prophetic reference to mission expansion), and "time of trouble." At the center of them all is "the revelation of the righteousness of Christ."

After another sermon by Jones, Prescott, obviously moved, exclaimed: "The times of refreshing are here, brethren. . . . The Spirit of God is here, open the heart; open the heart in praise and thanksgiving."<sup>245</sup>

Mission expansion may be viewed as related to the "latter rain." Power for the effective completion of a world mission resides in the "latter rain," the renewed gift of the Holy Spirit. We have discussed above the manner in which the Sunday-law situation helped to motivate mission expansion. In addition to that motivation, the spiritual revival that came out of the preaching of righteousness by faith in the late 1880s and into the 1890s also inspired mission-expansion efforts among Adventists. Knight has shown that the "Christocentric revival in the Church's theology had led to a spiritual

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<sup>244</sup>E. G. White, "The Perils and Privileges of the Last Days," RH 69 (November 22, 1892): 722.

<sup>245</sup>A. T. Jones, "Third Angel's Message.--No. 18 GCB, February 27, 1893, p. 417.

revival" in both its mission and its educational programs.<sup>246</sup>

In 1893 Jones drew a parallel between the mission expansion that came out of the fall of the "early rain" in the days of the apostles and the virtual explosion of missions that would accrue from the fall of the "latter rain."

That is the way he worked when he poured out the early rain, and that is the lesson book to see how he will work now in the time of the latter rain. . . .

Then when he sends us we are to go with the promise; it is before us; and go to meet the work that God has prepared for us on every hand, in every direction. . . . Is not that the way it was in the apostles' days?<sup>247</sup>

In considering "the light of the angel whose glory shall fill the whole earth"<sup>248</sup>, the prophetic symbolism Adventists cited for the spread of their message throughout the world, this consideration must not be made in isolation. Related concepts are intertwined. Germane presently are: the latter rain, the loud cry, righteousness by faith, and the Sunday crisis. Many late nineteenth-century Adventists started to realize that righteousness by faith had begun to emerge into a central position within the Adventist eschatological

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<sup>246</sup>Knight, "Spiritual Revival and Educational Expansion," RH 161-A (March 29, 1984): 9-10.

<sup>247</sup>A. T. Jones, "Third Angel's Message.--No. 23," GCB, March 26, 1893, pp. 513-14.

<sup>248</sup>E. G. White, "The Perils and Privileges of the Last Days," RH 69 (November 22, 1892): 722.

understanding. Obviously, the importance and acceptance of the doctrine continued to grow beyond the limits of this study. The rediscovery of righteousness by faith--the "precious light that has for a time been lost"<sup>249</sup> to many--deserves to be viewed as the greatest happening in the denomination from the late 1880s through the mid 1890s.

The Nature of Christ and Righteousness  
by Faith: Link with Eschatology

In 1895 Jones and Prescott taught the nature of Christ for the primary purpose of teaching righteousness by faith. E. J. Waggoner had already been doing so for a number of years. The focal idea was that Jesus was the Christian's pattern, or example--a model that could be copied through the gift of saving faith. Waggoner, Jones, and Prescott, though they expressed their views differently, all held that Jesus is the Christian's pattern. As shown above, they believed that since Christ in His sinful, human nature conquered temptation and remained sinless, human beings, in taking Christ's power by faith can also take Christ's victory over sin in the flesh by faith.<sup>250</sup>

There was an obsession to teach righteousness by

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<sup>249</sup>Idem, Selected Messages, 1:155, 384.

<sup>250</sup>Jones, like Waggoner, did not use the term "pattern," or "example theology." (See n. 191 on p. 319 above.)

faith, built on the premise that Christ's divine nature provided Him with the credentials to bestow righteousness and power in response to faith. In the eschatological sense, union with Christ would ensure both the believer's spiritual preparation for the end-time events and citizenship in the eternal Kingdom of God.

Health Reform and Righteousness  
by Faith: The Preparation  
for Translation Motif

Before the 1890s health reform was viewed by Seventh-day Adventists as a "part of the third angel's message," and as a preparatory lifestyle for those who wanted "to be fitted for translation."<sup>251</sup> The new development in the 1890s was the connection that was made between health reform and righteousness by faith. In 1893 Jones, writing about "Health Reform by Faith" in the Home Missionary, affirmed that "health reform" was "as much . . . a part of God's plan of salvation as righteousness by faith." In essence, health reform, seen as a part of the third angel's message, was considered to be unreachable outside of a commitment to faith. "Genuine health reform," said Jones, "means health reform by faith, as genuine righteousness means righteousness by faith."<sup>252</sup>

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<sup>251</sup>E. G. White, Testimonies, 1:559, 486.

<sup>252</sup>A. T. Jones, "Health Reform by Faith," HM 5, Extra (November 1893): 10-12; idem, "Third Angel's Message.--No. 23," GCB, March 26, 1893, pp. 514-15.

This development of the health reform motif applied new meaning to the concept of fitting the Christian for translation--a dominant eschatological concept. At the 1893 General Conference session, Jones explicitly emphasized this expanded connection between health reform and righteousness by faith for the purpose of preparing the characters of people for translation.<sup>253</sup> Without the link with righteousness by faith, health reform could degenerate into a health fad carried to fanatical extremes.

The "Inheritance" and  
Righteousness by Faith

The concept of "the inheritance" treats the victorious climax of the Christian's eschatological journey. In 1891 Waggoner used the inheritance concept to inject an eschatological tone into his righteousness-by-faith studies on the book of Romans. He explicitly stated that "the doctrine of the saints' inheritance is the doctrine of justification by faith."<sup>254</sup> Waggoner added that

if we do not preach justification by faith in preaching the saints' inheritance, we are not preaching the gospel. The inheritance promised is the same as that promised to the fathers (2 Pet. 3:4; Acts 7:5), and this does not relate to this present world.

The inheritance is not through the law, but

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<sup>253</sup>Idem, "The Third Angel's Message.--No. 4," GCB, February 1, 1893, p. 88; idem, "Third Angel's Message.--No. 23," March 26, 1893, p. 515.

<sup>254</sup>E. J. Waggoner, "Letter to the Romans.--No. 5," GCB, March 12, 1891, p. 86.



through the righteousness of faith. But it will only be for those who are righteous, that is, conformable to the law. . . . This is a paradox.

Christ has promised the inheritance and his promises are yea and amen. He will give not simply the inheritance, but the righteousness which is to merit the inheritance. And so life, righteousness, and the inheritance are all gifts.<sup>255</sup>

Prior to 1888, Adventists perceived the inheriting of the new earth and the related promises of God as rewards for keeping the commandments. They noted a similarity of thought in parts of two verses of Scripture, both in Revelation: (1) "Blessed are they that do his commandments, that they may have right to the tree of life, and [entrance] . . . into the city" (Rev 22:14); and, (2) "Here is the patience of the saints: here are they that keep the commandments of God, . . ." (Rev 14:12). It is understandable why Adventists before 1888 based the gaining of "the inheritance" on commandment keeping mainly. However, a significant turning point came after 1888 when "the faith of Jesus" (the last part of Rev 14:12) received reinterpretation and a new emphasis through righteousness by faith.

If, according to Waggoner, the inheritance is merited only through "justification by faith," then, without negating the importance of the law, Waggoner introduced a new concept. He admitted that "this is a paradox," for although "the inheritance is not through

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<sup>255</sup>A.T. Jones, "Third Angel's Message.--No. 7," GCB, February 6, 1893, p. 183.

the law, but through the righteousness of faith," the behavior of those who are righteous would be "conformable to the law."<sup>256</sup> The important point for consideration, however, resides in the crucial place to which "the faith of Jesus" had achieved in Adventist eschatology.

Between 1889 and 1895 the teaching of righteousness by faith took some advanced steps in clarification and acceptance among Seventh-day Adventists. The doctrine expanded to the extent that it contributed significantly to the development of Seventh-day Adventist eschatology.

Preparation for the second advent, the very purpose for the existence of the denomination, was viewed as an impossible goal without righteousness by faith, without discarding the place of the law. It was the very core of the understanding that only a righteous church could truly expect and be ready for that event. The righteous church was not synonymous with a doctrinaire, or an intellectual experience. The qualitative condition was attainable only through gift of righteousness to persons as a result of their saving faith in Christ. The bringing into focus of the seemingly dormant portion of Rev 14:12 on "the faith of Jesus," fired the growing righteousness-by-faith movement from the late 1880s into the early to mid 1890s. Stimulated by the efforts for

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<sup>256</sup>Ibid.

the achievement of Sunday legislation, Adventist leaders (especially Jones, Prescott, Waggoner, and Ellen White) saw the value of righteousness by faith for developing powerful, spiritual lives in preparation for the crisis and the second advent. In this context, the emphasis on the latter rain and the loud cry at the 1893 General Conference session is understandable.

In consequence of these developments, and irrespective of the response, the historical evidence reminds individuals and the entire denomination that righteousness by faith (not simply the doctrine but the experience) is the very essence of all that Christianity is about. And in Seventh-day Adventist eschatological parlance, it is "the third angel's message in verity."

Organized Labor and Seventh-day Adventist  
Eschatology, 1889-1895

Chapter 3 closed with the understanding that Seventh-day Adventists held a negative view regarding organized labor. The recourse of trade unions to strikes that often involved violence was a major factor that shaped that negative view. In addition, Adventists were impressed with the warnings in Jas 5 about labor strife prior to the second advent.

This section treats two aspects of this topic for the years 1889 through 1895: (1) the Adventist attitude to organized labor, and (2) the significance of organized labor in the development of Adventist eschatology.

Seventh-day Adventist Attitude toward  
Organized Labor, 1889-1895

The period 1889 through 1895 brought no change to Adventist opposition to organized labor. Defendable as this opposition was, it unfortunately had somewhat blinded Adventists to the plight of the individual laborer during the 1884 through 1888 period. Happily, though, a number of articles published during the period now being treated (1889-1895) reveal greater sensitivity toward the individual, struggling laborer--though it left unchanged the church's opposition to labor violence.

Adventist Attitude to  
Strikes and Violent Acts

In 1889 the American Sentinel indorsed the sentiments of an article that it reprinted from the New York Independent, sharply condemning strikes and violence as a poor remedy for regulating wages, doing more harm than good, and constituting a curse to society.<sup>257</sup>

Adventists were directly attacked by organized labor in 1889, when some labor unions made several attempts to organize employees of the Pacific Press Publishing House in Oakland, California. The employees' consistent refusal provoked the Alameda Federation of Trades to call for a boycott, and when the press held its ground unflinchingly, the Federation imposed a

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<sup>257</sup>"Capital and Labor," AS 4 (April 17, 1889): 102.

secondary boycott against Pacific Press customers, notably the Popular Railroad Guide and the Morning Times.<sup>258</sup> The Morning Times responded by observing that the "tyranny of labor is the most oppressive [thing] that has ever been exercised by human ingenuity when unscrupulous . . . men hold the reins of power."<sup>259</sup> A. T. Jones commented in the Sentinel that the boycott was really an attack against Adventist religious principles, and that the Pope was behind the affair--which he styled "a relic of the Inquisition." Sarcastically, "It is a proper thing that a Pope should be at the head of this thing in Oakland," he wrote, "because the very principle of the thing is popish."<sup>260</sup>

The Review and Herald observed in 1890 that "an epidemic of strikes [was] prevailing in Europe," aroused by poor conditions among the laboring class, low wages, long working hours, an exacting demand for a higher quality of work, and a 25 percent increase in the price of bread resulting from a shortage of food supplies due to restrictions on importation.<sup>261</sup>

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<sup>258</sup>A. T. Jones, "Another Boycott," AS 4 (October 16, 1889): 297-98.

<sup>259</sup>Ibid., p. 298. A. T. Jones quoted from the Morning Times without giving documentation details.

<sup>260</sup>Ibid.

<sup>261</sup>"The European Strikes," RH 67 (May 20, 1890): 311.

Perhaps the incident that most clearly revealed Adventist resistance to organized labor was the 1894 Pullman Strike.<sup>262</sup> Shaken by the economic depression of 1893, the Pullman Sleeping Car company laid off over 4,000 of its almost 6,000 workers and reduced the wages of those remaining by 40 percent. Yet the rents for the Pullman-owned homes in the company's "model" parklike community--already almost 25 percent higher than in nearby Chicago--remained unchanged. With the reduced pay, after rent was deducted many workers had very little left. By contrast, the salaries of the well-paid top officials were maintained at their high levels.

A grievance committee approached the management, only to have three of its members fired next day. Depressed, angry, and frustrated, the Pullman workers decided to strike with the support of the American Railway Union. No Pullman car was to be handled by union members on any railroad in America. Railway executives retaliated by dismissing any worker (Pullman and non-Pullman alike) who withdrew a Pullman car from a train. The workers in turn responded to the dismissal of their colleagues by striking. In a short time 60,000 men had stopped work, affecting rolling stock in several areas of

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<sup>262</sup>For the source of the material in the paragraphs on the Pullman strike, and for more details on that strike see, Rayback, History of American Labor, pp. 201-204; Dulles, Labor in America, pp. 171-78.

the country. The aim of the American Railway Union was not to paralyse the movement of trains, but to continue operation without the Pullman cars.

The United States Attorney General first secured a federal court injunction against the strikers, then broke the strike by hiring thousands of men who were first sworn in as deputy United States marshals. When these actions failed, he ordered federal troops into the most troubled areas. That action exacerbated an already charged atmosphere, and rioting broke out. Union leaders were arrested, and the Pullman strike collapsed.

What was the Adventist reaction to these events? M. E. Kellogg, in a Review and Herald editorial, characterized the strike as "the most gigantic strike ever known in the United States, and perhaps in the world," one that "almost paralysed" travel and transportation from ocean to ocean." He blamed "agitators" who traveled from place to place and called "the railroad men together, and in the most impassioned manner . . . placed before them the real or imaginary wrongs of the workmen." The situation, Kellogg continued, quickly attracted thousands of sympathizers "whose work has but the most distant relation to the subject of the dispute," and the resolve was "to fight to the bitter end." Kellogg observed that the owners and managers of the railroads, "enraged by the suddenness, and . . . [the] unnecessary

paralysis of their traffic, . . . [were] also determined to fight to win."<sup>263</sup>

In another article, the same writer commented:

The great effort that has lately been made by the American Railway Union to redress their real or fancied grievances by a strike of gigantic proportions, the apparent utter collapse of this effort in this direction, and the decided loss in popular support for the strikers which has ensued, will draw the attention of many minds to the question as to whether such labor unions are of any practical value to the public, or even to the laboring man himself.<sup>264</sup>

In order to underscore what in his opinion was a futile exercise on the part of the unions, Kellogg added that the labor wage, like the cost of any commodity or service, "is regulated more by the law of supply and demand than by any organization of labor."<sup>265</sup>

In reference to the same strike, G. C. Tenney, another Review editor, wrote that "the whole western country was throttled by a gigantic and unjustifiable strike" that had stopped the pulse beat of the "country's commercial life." He knew that the boycott and strike would fail "as they were sure to do."<sup>266</sup>

The 1894 Pullman strike provoked much comment from Adventist writers. Three pamphlets on the strike

<sup>263</sup>M. E. K[ellogg], "The Great Railroad Strike," RH 71 (July 10, 1894): 438. Emphasis supplied.

<sup>264</sup>Idem, "Labor Unions," RH 71 (July 24, 1894): 470. Emphasis supplied.

<sup>265</sup>Ibid., p. 471.

<sup>266</sup>G. C. [Tenney], "The Outlook," RH 71 (August 7, 1894): 502. Emphasis supplied.



are added to the treatment noted above. In The Great Strike! A Fulfillment of Prophecy, M. C. Wilcox was certain that the struggle between capital and labor was "one of the paramount issues of the last days, just prior to the second coming of Christ." Wilcox drew support from both the Old and the New Testaments to make his points. He condemned the rich man "'that buildeth a town with blood, and stablisheth a city by iniquity'" (Hab 2:12). In citing Jas 5:1-7, Wilcox referred to the hoarding of "millions" by the rich "till cankered or corroded from disuse." He balanced his criticism by observing that "noble exceptions" existed among the rich.<sup>267</sup>

The strike aroused grave concern among a variety of Protestant leaders, not only among Adventists. Some sources considered the strike a retribution for the violation of God's law concerning the Sabbath (i.e., Sunday). Wilcox, in another pamphlet entitled Labor Troubles and the Sabbath, Who Are Responsible for Sabbath Desecration? presented excerpts from the writings of several Protestant writers. One pertinent example was a reprinted sermon that appeared in the Oakland Enquirer of July 17, 1894. This source struck out against the "'insatiable avarice'" of capital that "'robbed the

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<sup>267</sup>M. C. Wilcox, The Great Strike! A Fulfillment of Prophecy, no. 60, in "Sentinel Library" (Oakland, Calif.: Pacific Press Publishing Company, 1894), p. 4.

working man of his Sabbath.'" Wilcox said that he agreed with the principles enunciated by the Protestant writers, but asked rhetorically: "What day is the Sabbath of the Lord?" He then seized the opportunity to outline his case for the seventh-day Sabbath. Protestant writers castigated capital for putting the workingman on a ceaseless grind. The Enquirer article spurned the idea of men working, "'especially in connection with our railways, [all] seven days [of] the week,'" and consequently, taking from [them] the "'opportunity of developing [their] conscience and improving [their] moral nature.'"<sup>268</sup> Apparently (judging from Wilcox's excerpts) the Protestant writers were manipulating the dispute to advance their own struggle to achieve a Sunday law.

In the third pamphlet, What Do These Things Mean? A. T. Jones, with the 1894 Pullman strike as his point of focus, filled nineteen pages with the summit consideration of eschatology--the second coming of Christ.<sup>269</sup> He noted that from the Atlantic to the Pacific the attention of the people of the United States had been arrested as

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<sup>268</sup>Idem, Labor Troubles and the Sabbath, Who Are Responsible for Sabbath Desecration? no. 61, in "Sentinel Library" (Oakland, Calif.: Pacific Press Publishing Company, 1894), pp. 2-7.

<sup>269</sup>[A. T. Jones], What Do These Things Mean? in no. 24 in "Religious Liberty Library," vol. 3 (Battle Creek, Mich.: International Religious Liberty Association, 1894). Two letters testify that Jones wrote this pamphlet: (1) L. T. Nicola to D. T. Jones, July 13, 1894; (2) A. O. Tait to O. A. Olsen, July 2, 1894.

they watched "the armies of the 'Industrials,' [and] the strikers and their consequent violence." Jones added the following comment as he brought the New Testament epistle of James into perspective:

Turning first to James, fifth chapter, there is the description of a time, and a condition of affairs, in which the rich are afraid of what is coming, and hold together their treasure in heaps in which the gold and silver is cankered; while on the other hand, there is a cry against the rich, and of real distress, indeed, because their wages are kept back; and while these are in distress and are crying out because of it, these same rich ones are . . . living in pleasure and wantonness.<sup>270</sup>

Jones asked what was the meaning of such a course of things. Replying to his own question, he said that "the great meaning, above all other meanings, . . . is that the Lord is coming." He was convinced that the happenings were "signs, evidences, . . . clear and plain, of the coming of the Lord."<sup>271</sup>

With regard to the coming together of both laborers in unions and capitalists in separate organizations to advance their various causes, the pamphlet cited Isa 8:9-17. It pointed out the futility of such "association[s] . . . combination[s] and confederation[s] . . . to save themselves from that which they fear." A portion of the Isaiah passage states: "Associate yourselves, O ye people, and ye shall be broken in pieces. . . . Say ye not, A confederacy; . . . neither fear ye

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<sup>270</sup>Ibid., p. 3.

<sup>271</sup>Ibid., pp. 4-7.

their fear" (9, 12). Jones added: "Never were there such vast organizations and combinations of labor, and never was labor in a worse plight."<sup>272</sup>

Jones affirmed that the recent events were "positive proofs that we are in the last days," and made a specific connection between the second advent of Christ and righteousness by faith.<sup>273</sup> Noting that the "'the harvest is ripe,'" that "'the end is near,'" and that "'the coming of the Lord draweth nigh'" (Luke 12:35, 36), he concluded with God's provision for salvation:

Nor does the Lord leave men to themselves in this all-important matter of getting ready for his coming. He himself will fully prepare every soul for this great and glorious event, who will surrender himself to the Lord and to the working of his divine will.

Thus the God of Israel has brought his glorious salvation, his eternal salvation, within the reach of every individual in this world who can either see, or hear, or speak, or feel. And that is all he asks of you. That is God's way of salvation. Will you accept this salvation and so be justified by the Lord, and thus by him be prepared to be glorified at his glorious appearing which is now so near, and of which there are so many signs?<sup>274</sup>

The dislocation of basic needs of society caused by strikes could be quite frustrating, even serious, and

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<sup>272</sup>Ibid., pp. 7-10. Jones mentioned Hab chaps. 1 and 2. The prophet decried violence, the suppression of the poor, and the insensitivity of the rich that prevailed in Israel. Habakkuk questioned what he considered God's apparent unwillingness to correct the situation. Reviewing his conclusion, the prophet expressed new confidence in God's control in human affairs, realizing that "the just shall live by his faith (2:4). Jones drew parallels from Habakkuk's time.

<sup>273</sup>Ibid., p. 6.

<sup>274</sup>Ibid., pp. 17, 19.

the element of violence that accompanies some of them could never be excused. And Adventists--committed as they were to the ethical values of the moral law--deemed strikes as anathema. Considering themselves the living embodiment of the third angel of Rev 14, they could not but regard strikes as being incongruent with their spiritual goals.

At the same time, it takes at least two sides to create a dispute. The bias of the writers in the Review and Herald was quite clear. (We shall see in a moment, however, that not all Adventists shared the bias of the Review.) No subtle hints approximated the point of view of some writers. Rather, specific statements like, "imagined wrongs," "fancied grievances," "unnecessary paralysis of traffic," and "unjustifiable strike" disclosed their attitude.

Looking back, one twentieth-century writer leveled heavy culpability against Adventists for what he considered a skewed response to the Pullman strike. Eugene Chellis argued:

Conscious or unconscious predispositions, however, or unawareness of critical details, fundamentally affected the Adventist response. The Review and Herald, official voice of the church, declined to examine the "real or fancied grievances" of the workmen. It overlooked that the railroad owners, far from being surprised by the strike, had deliberately chosen to become involved, hoping to destroy the American Railway Union.<sup>275</sup>

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<sup>275</sup>Chellis, "Adventist Response to Organized Labor," p. 22. Chellis limited his research to the

But Chellis, by limiting his research to the Review, also presented a skewed picture about Adventist response to the capital and labor situation. The Signs of the Times expressed sympathy for the struggling laborers and held the rich employers equally responsible for the Pullman strike. For example, M. C. Wilcox in 1894, in "The Great Strike--Foretold in Prophecy" wrote about the "unscrupulous methods" of the "heartless rich men," and of the "greedy, grasping, soulless corporations."<sup>276</sup> So, while it is true that Adventists did not support organized labor, some did show sensitivity to the hapless laborers. Below, there is more discussion on this topic.

For better or worse, there was a rupture of confidence between organized labor and Adventists. Suspicion was present for even good projects recommended by organized labor--as, for example, the eight-hour movement, a brief look at which follows.

#### Eight-Hour Movement: Adventist Response

The "eight-hour movement" of the 1890s was the revival of a struggle that began in the 1860s. Workers wanted a shorter workday--eight hours instead of ten. May 1, 1890, was the date they selected for the renewal

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Review and Herald, the "official Seventh-day Adventist paper," as Chellis observed.

<sup>276</sup>[Milton C. Wilcox], "The Great Strike--Foretold in Prophecy," ST 20 (July 16, 1894): 561.

of their struggle.<sup>277</sup> Resolute and determined, the workers intended to get what they wanted even if they had to suffer.

The American Federation of Labor warned that it would call a strike to enforce the eight-hour day. The carpentry trade union was set to begin the strike on May 1, 1890. The Review reported with apprehension that the streets would be jammed with "idle work men," and that "the movement of the vast army of working-men is deliberate and premeditated."<sup>278</sup>

Public opinion favored the change, viewing the "reduction of the hours of daily labor as an essential requisite of social progress." Labor leaders gave their full support. The influential Samuel Gompers, Master Workman of the Cigar Maker's Union, entered the struggle with determined resolve.<sup>279</sup>

By August 1894 a joint resolution was introduced into the United States Senate proposing an amendment to the Constitution requiring a maximum eight hours of work daily, six days a week.<sup>280</sup>

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<sup>277</sup>"A New Eight-Hour Movement," RH 66 (January 8, 1889): 23.

<sup>278</sup>Ibid.; "The Eight-Hour Movement," RH 67 (April 15, 1890): 231; [Uriah Smith], "Mutterings of the Coming Storm," RH 67 (December 9, 1890): 760-61.

<sup>279</sup>"The Eight-Hour Movement," RH 67 (February 4, 1890): 71.

<sup>280</sup>"Joint Resolution," AS 9 (August 23, 1894): 264.

Perhaps no one was surprised that employers resisted the change. They introduced a counter proposal for the reduction of wages, commensurate with the reduction in hours.<sup>281</sup>

Adventists were passive about the eight-hour day crusade. Evidently the involvement of organized labor overrode any consideration the denomination might have had for the proposal. In particular, the Review had three suspicions: that the government would gain unbridled jurisdiction over all labor questions, that a potential was present for the manipulation of the issue by the organizations that were lobbying for Sunday legislation, and that the Roman Catholic hierarchy was playing too significant a role. Indeed, Catholic leaders offered to mediate the dispute in order to avert the conflict that was brewing.<sup>282</sup> With reference to this Roman Catholic intervention, a Review editor concluded that

the astute [Pope] Leo is not slow to utilize this movement as he has others of less magnitude, to the exaltation of that system of which he is head. He would impress the world with the fact that he is the great benefactor of mankind. It is not for the papacy to remain inactive at such a time.<sup>283</sup>

Apparently Adventists, already deeply involved in

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<sup>281</sup>"The Eight-Hour Movement," RH 67 (February 4, 1890): 71.

<sup>282</sup>"Joint Resolution," AS 9 (August 23, 1894): 264.

<sup>283</sup>L. A. S[mith], "The Industrial Revolution," RH 67 (April 29, 1890): 267.



temperance and health measures for improving society did not find it necessary to get drawn into the eight-hour movement when others were leading out in it. It would appear also that they did not try to assimilate the fact that certain potential worker benefits were in the proposal. The possibilities included: more time for leisure; extra time for family interaction; more opportunities for social, educational, and spiritual upliftment; and more conservation of human-life forces that might be channeled into purposeful endeavors, and other benefits.

Adventists against the Greed of the Rich: Concern for the Poor Laborer

Interestingly enough, and of significance too, there was another side to the Adventist perception of the labor scene. As was noted in the preceding chapter, the greed of the rich capitalist in contrast to the hardships of the struggling masses received minimal comment in Adventist writings between 1884 and 1888. A change from this relative silence took place between 1889 and 1895 in articles written for the Signs of the Times, even though the Review continued to project a pro-capitalist preference during those years. The Signs outrightly condemned the greed of the rich capitalists and expressed sympathy for the laborers in their plight.

In 1893 F. M. Wilcox observed that the problem of capital and labor was developing into "a most perplexing one to social and political economists." He was

especially critical of the rich, with their insatiable desire for "hoarded wealth and ill gotten gains," thereby precipitating a "mad struggle for bread on the part of millions of workers."<sup>284</sup> The pathetic living conditions of the poor drew comment in another article. Many of the unfortunate, noted Francis Hope, huddled together in dark garrets and damp cellars. The poor landless with respect to farming space, extracted no pity from the rich who had thousands of acres on which to "play and hunt for game."<sup>285</sup>

An impassioned and scathing comment from M. C. Wilcox exposed the manipulative methods of some of the affluent and expressed sympathy for the laboring class:

By over-reaching, by unscrupulous methods, by perversion of law, by purchase of municipal councils, state legislatures, national congressmen, jurors, courts of justice, by oppression of the poor, by the reduction of wages, by the "freezing out" and crushing out of smaller merchants, tradesmen, and manufacturers, by taking advantage of the necessities of the common people, by stockjobbery, by unlawful combinations, by unholy trusts, by bribery, by theft, by the use of men as mere machines, heartless rich men, and great and greedy, grasping, soulless corporations have heaped and heaped treasure together in the last days.<sup>286</sup>

It would be unfair to label nineteenth-century Seventh-day Adventists as cold, callous, or insensitive

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<sup>284</sup>F. M. Wilcox, "The Second Coming of Christ," ST 19 (April 3, 1893): 340.

<sup>285</sup>Francis Hope, "A Sign of the Last Days," ST 20 (November 20, 1894): 37.

<sup>286</sup>[Milton C. Wilcox], "The Great Strike--Foretold in Prophecy," ST 20 (July 16, 1894): 561.

because of the negative attitude they expressed toward organized labor. It would not be unfair, however, to say that their eschatological understanding gave them a detached vision regarding solutions to the labor problems that plagued the exploited laboring class within their immediate context. An examination of the contribution of organized labor in the development of that eschatological understanding follows.

The Significance of Organized Labor in the  
Development of Seventh-day Adventist  
Eschatology, 1889-1895

Between 1889 and 1895 organized labor influenced Adventists to expand their eschatological understanding. Views on the imminence of the second advent in particular were intensified. At least three implications for Adventist eschatology are noted: (1) the connection between labor relations and prophetic fulfillment that pointed to the second advent of Christ and the end of the world; (2) the emerging of an association between organized labor and the Sunday-legislation movement; and (3) the element of "patience" regarding solutions to problems from the Adventist point of view, as opposed to "immediacy" on the part of organized labor.

Organized Labor: The  
Prophetic Connection

In contrast to 1884-1888, when less emphasis was placed on the role of prophecy regarding capital and

labor struggles,<sup>287</sup> Adventists between 1889 and 1895 projected a dominant biblical and prophetic emphasis in expressing their eschatological thought in relation to organized labor. For example, writers in the Review and Herald and Signs of the Times quoted from both Old and New Testaments as they placed capital and labor problems into an eschatological perspective.

Jas 5:1-8 became the dominant prophecy concerning the tensions between capital and labor--tensions that were interpreted by the denomination as signs of the imminent second advent of Christ. During the early 1890s, articles and pamphlets from such writers as L. A. Smith, M. E. Kellogg, F. M. Wilcox, M. C. Wilcox, G. C. Tenney, and A. T. Jones directly utilized, or alluded to Jas 5:1-8.<sup>288</sup>

A doleful Signs editorial commented on the "amount of trouble in the industrial world," listing clashes between capital and labor, strikes, armed resistance, loss of life, mob warfare against "tyrannical

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<sup>287</sup>See pp. 230-33 above for a discussion relevant to the sparse mention of prophecy by Adventist writers regarding the labor question between 1884 and 1888.

<sup>288</sup>See L. A. S[mith], "The Problem of Capital and Labor," RH 69 (April 19, 1892): 247; F. M. Wilcox, "The Second Coming of Christ," ST 19 (April 3, 1893): 340; G. C. T[enney], "Are Better Times Coming?" RH 71 (July 3, 1894): 420; [M. C. Wilcox], "The Great Strike--Foretold in Prophecy," ST 20 (July 16, 1894): 561; [Jones], What Do These Things Mean?; M. C. Wilcox, The Great Strike! A Fulfillment of Prophecy.

monopolies and corporations," and the like. It then viewed Jas 5:1-7 eschatologically. In answer to the question, "Will it be better?" it replied:

Rather, will it not, as delineated in the prophetic word, "wax worse and worse?" But there is light overhead. To the poor the Lord says, "Be patient, therefore, brethren, unto the coming of the Lord." See James 5:1-7. Christ, the righteous judge, is coming.<sup>289</sup>

Jas 5 specifically draws attention to exploitative practices in the world of labor. In addressing the rich, James's personification notes the cries of "the labourers who have reaped down your fields" on account of "the [wages] . . . you kept back by fraud." Those cries "are entered into the ears of the Lord of sabaoth." The passage climaxes on a fervent eschatological note, promising deliverance for the oppressed at the parousia:

Be patient, therefore, brethren, unto the coming of the Lord. Behold, the husbandman waiteth for the precious fruit of the earth, and hath long patience for it, until he receive the early and latter rain.

Be ye also patient; stablish your hearts: for the coming of the Lord draweth nigh.<sup>290</sup>

One of the Signs writers used the Old Testament in addition to Jas 5 to expose the decadent conscience of the rich, reminding the poor that when "judgment is turned backward and justice standeth afar off," when "men have 'heaped up treasure together,' and have laid it up 'in the last days,'" the poor must not execute

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<sup>289</sup>[M. C. Wilcox], "Editorial," ST 19 (December 28, 1893): 113.

<sup>290</sup>Jas 5:7-8.

retaliatory measures. "Leave the hatred of the rich, or his ways to God. . . . In [Christ] is all fullness," counseled the author.<sup>291</sup>

From another point of view, Adventists felt apprehensive about the association that was developing between the Sunday-law proposers and the labor movement that was rapidly growing in influence.

Organized Labor: Link with  
Sunday-Legislation Crusade

As stated above, Adventists were suspicious of the Pope's willingness to intervene in labor disputes. Twice during the years under consideration they expressed their apprehension: during the Oakland boycott in 1889 and during the struggles for the eight-hour day in 1890. Even though Protestants were in the forefront in pushing for a national Sunday law, it was common knowledge that the Roman Catholic hierarchy kept a close watch to capitalize on any success gained that might further the aims of the papacy.<sup>292</sup>

This subtle connection between two powerful movements--organized labor and the national Sunday-legislation movement--evoked serious questions in the minds of

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<sup>291</sup>M. C. Wilcox, "The Great Strike--Foretold in Prophecy," ST 20 (July 16, 1894): 561-62; Isa 59:20; Jas 5:3.

<sup>292</sup>A. T. Jones, "Another Boycott," AS 4 (October 16, 1889): 297-98; L. A. S[mith], "The Industrial Revolution," RH 67 (April 29, 1890): 267.

Adventists regarding the mark of the beast. No wonder L. A. Smith interpreted the pope's offer to mediate in the eight-hour dispute as an attempt to utilize the "movement . . . to the exaltation of that system of which he is head."<sup>293</sup>

These developments probably caused the Adventists to look at organized labor with increased suspicion. Organized labor began to assume a politico-religious image in the minds of Adventists. And, in light of the central position that the mark of the beast held in late nineteenth-century Adventist eschatology, it is evident how even a semblance of a connection between organized labor and the Sunday law question was enough to set off a train of eschatological thinking among Adventists. Of course, the Roman Catholic Church and the NRA (essentially a Protestant organization) were openly linked in supporting Sunday legislation.<sup>294</sup>

Patience vs. Immediacy:  
the Clash of Ideology

The operative word in Adventist eschatological understanding respecting labor problems was "patience." G. C. Tenney clarified the Adventist philosophy on such matters, stating that even though labor bargaining might

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<sup>293</sup>L. A. S[mith], "The Industrial Revolution," RH 67 (April 29, 1890): 267.

<sup>294</sup>E. G. White, Testimonies, 5:451.

achieve some immediate "relief to a degree" it would only be "for a time." He was certain that "matters cannot essentially change until [the] conditions change . . . when Christ comes. In the kingdom of heaven we shall have better times."<sup>295</sup> Adventists had fully adopted the New Testament concept of the Kingdom of God: "Christ's kingdom," said Tenney, "is not of this world; hence his servants do not fight." Tenney, an assistant editor of the Review and Herald, summed up the Adventist eschatological understanding and responsibility:

With lawlessness and confusion as manifested in the world at large, we as Christians should have no sympathy. We may sympathize as Christians with the oppressed and poor, but that sympathy may be shown in better and more consistent ways than by encouraging or abetting anarchy or contempt of properly constituted authority. Christ's kingdom is not of this world; hence his servants do not fight. . . . There is no doubt that the present agitation in labor and social affairs is designed by Satan to engage the attention of the people and thus prevent their giving heed to matters of eternal interest, which the shortness of time renders more urgent than ever before. If we see others suffering from the oppression of the world, let us point them to Christ for rest and to his kingdom as that happy place where the shackles of sin will all be broken. If we experience some of this oppression in our own lives, let us be patient unto the coming of the Lord.<sup>296</sup>

The key concept was to wait for the Lord to provide a complete solution to the problems of capital and labor. The contrast in timing between organized

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<sup>295</sup>G. C. T[enney], "Are Better Times Coming?" RH 71 (July 3, 1894): 420.

<sup>296</sup>Idem, "Lawlessness Vs. Christianity," RH 71 (June 19, 1894): 392.



labor and Adventists, with regard to the achieving of objectives, is crucial to the understanding of the Adventist attitude toward organized labor. The trade unions wanted immediate solutions and took matters into their own hands to effect results. Adventists, consistent with their prophetic orientation, and standing staunchly within the confines of their eschatology, advised the down-trodden laborer to "be patient unto the coming of the Lord." A reverse of the eschatological cliché--"the now and the not yet"--is appropriate here. Adventists were saying "not yet," but organized labor personnel were saying "now" for the solutions to labor problems.

To conclude this section, the point is reiterated that the attitude of Adventists toward organized labor from 1889 to 1895 was intrinsically related to their eschatology. Late nineteenth-century Adventists placed the "here and now" on hold, awaiting better times. They were not embarrassed. They believed that the distinctive theology that couched their eschatology came to them as a result of prophetic guidance, and that by their choice (not God's partiality) they were the bearers of the third angel's message. They realized that if they did not get involved in every social issue, that others would have done so, but if they did not proclaim the three angels' messages, they knew that no one else would have proclaimed them.

Summary

This chapter discussed the development of the three selected factors that form the core of this study from 1889 through 1895: Sunday legislation and related subjects, righteousness by faith and the issues that grew out of it, and organized labor. In addition, it treated the significance of these factors as they contributed to the development of Seventh-day Adventist eschatology.

In the area of Sunday legislation, the arrests and trials that related to Sunday laws--particularly the King trial--sensitized Seventh-day Adventists concerning their view of the crisis they had to face before the second advent of Christ. Their reaction to the legal issues was not simply a self-inflicted martyr complex. The Adventists interpreted what happened as part of the larger eschatological picture.

It was a period of several Sunday bills. The chapter selected for treatment the second Blair Sunday bill and the religion in public schools bill that was a forerunner to it, the Breckenridge bill for the District of Columbia, the District of Columbia ice bill, and the Sunday-closing provision for the Columbian Exposition. The ice bill received partial passage, but the proposers for Sunday legislation scored their greatest triumph when the Columbian Exposition provision, as part of a larger appropriation bill, passed both houses of Congress and was later signed by the President.

Adventists strongly opposed these efforts to achieve Sunday legislation by forming the NRLA, through appearances by their representatives before various committees, by asking people to sign petitions, by publishing religious liberty literature, and by other means.

Two happenings during the period elicited much interest and excitement from some Seventh-day Adventists. These were the Supreme Court opinion that described America as a Christian nation, and the vote by Congress providing for the closing of the World's Fair on Sundays. Some Adventists, especially A. T. Jones, viewed these developments as fulfillments of prophecy--the first as the making of an image to the beast, and the second as the giving of life to that image. It must be remembered that many Adventists did not accept all of Jones's interpretations.

The happenings in the area of Sunday legislation did not provide development (or new teachings) in Adventist eschatology, but Jones's views did have important implications for Adventist eschatological thinking. At least three aspects of Jones's contributions--direction, application, and amplification--were treated above. In summary, he pointed out the direction that congressional legislation might well follow relative to Sunday laws. Even though Jones's application of the historical data to the prophecy of Rev 13 was faulty in detail it was

defensible in general, and his application produced awareness, discussion, and debate. In addition, his application stimulated the denomination to reassess, reevaluate, and clarify its eschatological position. Finally, in regard to the aspect of amplification as it related to Rev 13, Jones opened up the historical events for a closer scrutiny by the denomination.

With respect to righteousness by faith, the new emphasis on the teaching developed theologically and eschatologically. After the 1888 General Conference session, certain leaders traveled across much of the United States to spread the message. The revivals of 1889 and 1893 were notable fruits of the new emphasis on righteousness by faith. Sermons on the subject monopolized the presentations at the 1891, 1893, and 1895 General Conference sessions. Teachings on the nature of Christ contributed to the development of righteousness-by-faith theology. Waggoner, Jones, and Prescott presented arguments for righteousness by faith on the basis of Christ's obedience and perfect example, his death on the cross--the atonement, and the power of His resurrection. It was central in the theology of Waggoner, Jones, and Prescott that since Christ in His human nature remained sinless, then we, having Christ as our pattern, and having His power by faith, can also become sinless in the flesh.

Between 1889 and 1895, righteousness by faith

grew in its acceptance among Adventists and contributed significantly to the development of Adventist eschatology. In addition to other developmental features (e.g., the connection of righteousness by faith with the latter rain, the loud cry, and health reform), the doctrine was viewed as being an essential aspect of the third angel's message. Seventh-day Adventists now had a richer message--the faith of Jesus had been united with the commandments of God (Rev 14:12).

With respect to organized labor between 1889 and 1895, Seventh-day Adventists maintained their distaste for trade unions and the tactics they utilized. Strikes in particular provoked sharp reactions from Adventists. Oppressive, rich capitalists also drew harsh criticism from some of them. An ameliorated attitude (absent in 1884-1888) was expressed toward the individual, suffering laborer. This was not active assistance, but at least the encouragement to patiently wait for the "better times" that were forthcoming at the second coming of Christ. Late nineteenth-century Adventists had a passion for the future life they considered imminent. That diverted any interest they might have developed towards the activities of organized labor.

Organized labor influenced Adventists to sharpen the focus of the eschatological views that they previously held. Between 1889 and 1895, writers of the denomination applied Bible prophecy to labor conflicts.

This application was absent between 1884 and 1888. On the basis of this biblical and prophetic information, Adventists viewed strikes and other conflicts between capital and labor, the cry of the struggling poor, and the avarice of most of the rich as definite signs of the second coming of Christ.

Concluding observations and a perspective follow in chapter 5.

## CHAPTER V

### CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

This study has investigated the influence of three selected factors on the development of Seventh-day Adventist eschatology between 1884 and 1895. These factors--Sunday legislation, righteousness by faith, and organized labor--were not the only ones that affected the development of Adventist eschatology. They were, however, important factors between 1884 and 1895.

The findings are treated below in some detail, but briefly, they are as follows:

1. The response of the denomination to the various Sunday-legislation proposals produced no new theology. No significant development in Adventist eschatology resulted from the response of the denomination to the activities in the Sunday-law arena. At the same time, as the added treatment below shows, Adventists' response to Sunday-legislation efforts did sharpen the focus of their eschatology.

2. The study has documented that the new emphasis on righteousness by faith contributed significantly

to the development of Adventist eschatology during the period selected.

3. The findings reveal that happenings in the arena of organized labor stirred Adventists to expand their eschatology. During the period, the denomination specifically applied a prophetic fulfillment to the course of events. The leaders of the denomination believed that strikes and other tensions between capital and labor were crises that indicated that the second advent was near. Their interpretation of Jas 5:1-8 and related scriptures contributed to the development of Adventist eschatology between 1884 and 1895.

#### Review: Backdrop of the Study

The study began with a brief survey of some of the millennial theories of nineteenth-century America. Sprouting from European and Puritan roots, the early American Christians held apocalyptic ideas. The eschatological expectations of the Puritans became a precious legacy to them. Millennialism was woven into the fabric of the religious and cultural life of "Puritan" America.

Millennial hope reached a high peak in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The Great Awakening of the 1730s and 1740s, for example, ignited fervent millennial expectations. Interest in the millennium remained at a very high level beyond the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.



Nineteenth-century America was noted for its religious excitement and myriad reform movements, particularly before the Civil War. Indeed, it has been said that antebellum America was "drunk on the millennium."<sup>1</sup> However, there was no unity of thought on the doctrine. Three strains of thought claimed attention--postmillennialism, premillennialism, and amillennialism. In contrast to postmillennialism that preached a message of human progress and a "golden age" on earth, premillennialism announced the soon-coming of Christ and the end of human history.

Facing the resolute challenge from postmillennialism, premillennialism prospered in the nineteenth century. Many socio-religious groups that had been influenced by charismatic leaders abounded. Prior to the Civil War, sects, such as the Rappites, Shakers, and Mormons, embraced chiliastic beliefs. Two outstanding strains of premillennialism developed in postbellum America--that of Jehovah's Witnesses and Dispensationalism. But the postmillennialists held firm. After the Civil War, the interest they had evinced in social reforms took new life in the Social Gospel movement.

In spite of the disparate millennial views, with postmillennialism being most dominant, a sort of "traditional premillennialism" was vibrant. Some of its

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<sup>1</sup>Sandeen, Roots of Fundamentalism, p. 42.

essential characteristics included other-worldly expectations and pious life-styles--belief in the historic interpretation of prophecy, belief in a literal second advent of Christ, belief in a millennium resulting from the cosmic intervention of God (not a man-made golden age), and belief that the second coming of Christ was imminent. It was this kind of premillennialism that William Miller advocated in the 1830s and 1840s.

Torn by their disappointment when Jesus did not come on October 22, 1844, as they had predicted, Millerism foundered. But in spite of the fact that Jesus did not come at that time, the idea of an imminent second advent continued to influence many persons.

The importance of Millerism to this study resides in the fact that the Seventh-day Adventist Church came out of the fractured Millerite movement. This church has become, in the 145 years since its birth, the largest and most vibrant of the groups that splintered from Millerism. Quite naturally, the eschatological foundations of the Seventh-day Adventist Church are closely related to the historicist Millerite eschatology.

Before their official designation as "Seventh-day Adventist," the Sabbatarian Adventists disseminated their eschatological beliefs at a series of "Sanctuary and Sabbath" Conferences that convened from 1848 to 1850. The basic structure of their beliefs, summarized in the three

angels' messages of Rev 14: 6-12, invested them with a distinctiveness that made them a unique group indeed.

Sabbatarian Adventists believed that even though William Miller misunderstood his key passage on Dan 8:14, his proclamation fulfilled the prophecy of the first angel's message in Rev 14:6, 7 just the same. They also believed that the concentrated opposition of the Protestant churches against the Millerite message was a fulfillment of the prophecy of the second angel of Rev 14:8.

The espousal of the seventh-day Sabbath by the group not only set them apart as a people who were willing to obey God's commandments, including the fourth, but also as a people who would play a distinctive role in the Sabbath-Sunday controversy that was still future. To them that controversy would be seen as the fulfillment of the prophecy of the third angel of Rev 14:9-12.<sup>2</sup> Sunday-legislation efforts, treated in detail in this study, sharpened the focus of Seventh-day Adventist eschatology.

The Sabbatarian Adventists with determined effort, energy, and sacrifice set about to strengthen the fledgling organization. Among other things, (1) they expanded the Millerite legacy and found new apocalyptic dimensions regarding the prophecies of Daniel and the

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<sup>2</sup>Cf. Rev 13.

Revelation. (2) They affirmed their theological position by reshaping and refining the doctrines that they held. (3) They saw the necessity for formal organization and legal incorporation of their assets. (4) They launched a missiological thrust (a departure from the Millerite post-1844 "shut door" theory) to gather "souls" to meet Christ at His imminent second advent. Mid-nineteenth-century Seventh-day Adventists were stimulated by an ever-present eschatological awareness.

While the denomination stood with other Christians in accepting the basic eschatological categories of the final judgment, the second coming of Christ, the resurrection, the millennium, and the restoration of the new heaven and the new earth, they added some unique yet biblical aspects to generally accepted eschatology. They developed a sanctuary theology with the pre-advent judgment as a major core. They discovered scriptural links that forged the three angels' messages of Rev 14 with the Sabbath of the fourth commandment, the mark of the beast of Rev 13, and the final judgment. Sometimes they summed up all of their eschatological hopes and longings by using the term "the third angel's message." Bryan Ball has explained the concept succinctly:

Seventh-day Adventist eschatology is unique. It owes that uniqueness to its wholeness, its thoroughly biblical nature. Consequently it emphasizes aspects of biblical eschatology not found in Christian eschatology as a whole--the Sanctuary, the mediatorial

ministry of Christ, His work of judgment, all as part of the "Christ-event," the total work of the "eschatological Man." It contends that apocalyptic prophecy is more than ever necessary to a full understanding of God's purposes in this last age.<sup>3</sup>

The three sections that immediately follow expand the synopses given above relative to the impact of the three selected factors on the development of Seventh-day Adventist eschatology.

Sunday Legislation and Eschatological  
Development, 1884-1895

While the events in the area of Sunday legislation did not cause Adventists to develop new eschatological thought between 1884 and 1895, these events did motivate them to sharpen the focus of their eschatology in a significant way.

The denomination had taught for forty years that a Sunday-law crisis was impending on the basis of the prophecy of Rev 13. The Blair bills of 1888 and 1889 and other bills, along with the arrests and convictions against Adventists for Sunday "violations," created a stir in Adventist ranks. With much seriousness, A. T. Jones spearheaded a reaction that attached major significance to two occurrences during the period: (1) the February 29, 1892, Supreme Court decision in the case of the Church of the Holy Trinity vs. the United States

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<sup>3</sup>Ball, Seventh-day Adventist Eschatology (section 2), p. 12.

(the court's decision allowed the church to import a clergyman and included an opinion that expounded the "Christian Nation" concept); (2) the vote that was taken in Congress and signed into law on August 5, 1892, to attach a proviso to the federal bill for appropriations to the Chicago World's Fair. The condition called for the closing of the gates of the fair on Sundays. Those who were pressing for a national Sunday law hailed the vote of Congress as a victory. The findings of the study have shown that Jones mistakenly perceived the decision of Congress to mean that a national Sunday law had been passed. He also incorrectly interpreted the Supreme Court's Holy Trinity decision as the making of "the image of the beast" (Rev 13) and was again incorrect when he announced that life was given to the image by the vote of Congress regarding the World's Fair. Research has indicated, as Uriah Smith long ago pointed out, that Jones used a faulty exegetical method.

Notwithstanding Jones's faulty exegesis, even Smith conceded that the decision of the Supreme Court was an important one. It was seen as a "hastening of the crisis" and as a "movement" that would eventually lead to the making of the image.<sup>4</sup> The argument aside, the Adventist community believed that all those events

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<sup>4</sup>Uriah Smith, "In the Question Chair," RH 69 (June 21, 1892): 392.

pointed to the imminence of the second advent for which they were eagerly looking.

Even though "no new thing" was developed, Jones's interpretations made at least three contributions to Adventist eschatology with implications bearing upon the mark-of-the-beast theology and the third angel's message.

1. Jones's interpretations highlighted the direction which enactments, decisions, and specific events related to Sunday legislation could possibly follow. He pointed out the course that Congress and Protestantism could take to achieve such legislation.

2. The interpretations made an outright application of historical events to the prophecy of Rev 13 regarding the mark of the beast. The application produced awareness, discussion, and debate. Such elements stimulated the denomination to reassess, reevaluate, and clarify its eschatological position.

3. Jones's interpretations also effected amplification of the historical events in relationship to the prophecy of Rev 13. He opened up the events that were taking place for closer scrutiny by the denomination. He also expanded the grasp of many leaders and the laity concerning the relationship between prophecy and history.

In addition, the happenings in the Sunday-law arena sensitized Adventists in at least two other ways:

to get out their message to the world and to practice a characteristic lifestyle in preparation for the second coming of Christ.

Nineteenth-century Adventists more fully integrated their missiology into their eschatology in the 1890s than they had previously. More importantly, the excitement related to the mark of the beast inspired greater mission efforts. Leaders, more than ever conscious of the nearness of the second advent, consistently called upon the members to take their message to people at home and in foreign lands.

The Sunday-law crisis, therefore, was one of the factors that led to an acceleration in missionary efforts in the late 1880s and 1890s. Admittedly, since the 1870s Adventists had seen the need for mission outreach as a fulfillment of Matt 24:14, but from the late 1880s, they saw it much more clearly. Uriah Smith,<sup>5</sup> Ellen White,<sup>6</sup> O. A. Olsen,<sup>7</sup> A. T. Jones,<sup>8</sup> W. A. Spicer,<sup>9</sup> and others

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<sup>5</sup>Uriah Smith, "The Main Point," RH 65 (January 3, 1888): 8.

<sup>6</sup>Ellen G. White, "An Address in Regard to the Sunday Movement," RH 66, Extra (December 24, 1889): 2, 3.

<sup>7</sup>O. A. Olsen, "Our Duty in the Present Crisis," RH 66, Extra (December 24, 1889): 2.

<sup>8</sup>A. T. Jones, "The Third Angel's Message," GCB, March 26, 1893, p. 522.

<sup>9</sup>W. A. Spicer, "Opening of the World to the Message," HM (December 1893): 252.



wrote--in the context of the Sunday-law crisis--about getting the third angel's message to the world. Adventists felt that time was short and that they had a responsibility to warn the world of the end of history and the second coming of Jesus.

Beyond a heightened missiological thrust, the content of the Adventist message to missions included an important segment of the Adventist lifestyle: health reform. It became an important adjunct of their characteristic message, partially in response to Sunday legislation. And since Adventists viewed health reform as a part of the third angel's message, it was seen as an important element in the structure of their eschatology.

Jones believed that "no man" could preach the health-reform message without preaching three "things": a warning against the image of the beast, the seven last plagues, and the coming of the Lord.<sup>10</sup> He cited Ellen White's statement, which said that "health reform is as closely connected to the work of the third angel's message" and was preparatory for translation.<sup>11</sup>

Education was another avenue whereby Adventists promoted their characteristic lifestyle. A phenomenal

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<sup>10</sup>A. T. Jones, "The Third Angel's Message.--No. 4," GCB, February 1, 1893, p. 88; idem, "The third Angel's Message.--No. 23," GCB, March 26, 1893, p. 515.

<sup>11</sup>A. T. Jones, "Health Reform by Faith," HM 5, Extra (November 1893): 10-14 (emphasis supplied); cf. Ellen G. White, Testimonies, 1:559.

explosion in this area took place in the 1890s. The above points out that there was a relationship between mission expansion and the growth in education.

To repeat: although the Adventist response to the issues of Sunday legislation during the 1880s and 1890s did not reshape their eschatology, it did sharpen the focus of the denomination's eschatological thinking. It also enhanced their missionary outreach and their efforts at church-related education.

Righteousness by Faith and Eschatological  
Development, 1884-1895

The findings have indicated that the "new" emphasis on righteousness by faith contributed in a significant manner to the development of Seventh-day Adventist eschatology by adding new elements to it.

The third angel's message is crucial to Adventist eschatology. Seventh-day Adventists developed a unique eschatology during their early history, with the third angel's message of Rev 14:9-12 at its core. Significantly, the 1884-through-1895 period witnessed new growth in this unique eschatology. Righteousness by faith became fused, even central, to what may be called an indigenous Adventist eschatology. In 1890 Ellen White announced that she had received several inquiries asking "if the message of justification by faith is the third angel's message." She replied: "It is the third angel's

message in verity."<sup>12</sup> Soon thereafter, righteousness by faith reached a new level in the Adventist understanding.

The mention of at least five selected developmental aspects demonstrate the impact of righteousness by faith on the eschatology of the church: (1) its link with the third angel's message, (2) its link with the latter rain and the loud cry, (3) its obvious link with the nature-of-Christ theology, (4) its link with health reform and preparation for translation, and (5) its link with the promise of the final inheritance of the saved.

These five areas are discussed at some length above. A brief recapitulation is in place:

1. When Ellen White stated that "justification by faith . . . is the third angel's message in verity," righteousness by faith assumed not only a central position, but a dominant one within the framework of late nineteenth-century Adventist eschatology. The notable aspect of this development is heightened when it is considered that before 1888 Seventh-day Adventist writers tended to emphasize the commandments of God when they read Rev 14:12. Faith in Christ as the only way to salvation was "largely left out, not only of the discourses given but of the religious experience of very many who claim[ed] to believe the third angel's message."

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<sup>12</sup>Ellen G. White, "Repentance the Gift of God," RH 67 (April 1, 1890): 193.

Ellen White pointed to the two concepts in Rev 14:12 and observed that while "the commandments of God have been proclaimed . . . the faith of Jesus has not been proclaimed by . . . Adventists as of equal importance."

After 1888, leaders of the denomination began to emphasize the faith of Jesus as saving faith. They now had a far richer message and realized that "Jesus Christ must not be left out of the third angel's message."

Of cardinal significance, also, is the fact that the Sunday-law crisis (which gave meaning to the part of the third angel's message that warns against the worship of the "beast and his image") provided urgency and prominence to the place that righteousness by faith held for Adventists in their preparation for the second advent. Thus, though at opposite poles conceptually, the Sunday-law crisis and righteousness by faith became complementary in their impact on Adventist eschatology between 1884 and 1895.

Ellen White called attention to these same ideas in a statement that grouped together a constellation of Adventist eschatological concepts. She wrote about "time of test," "loud cry," "third angel," "light [filling] the earth" (a prophetic reference to mission expansion), and "time of trouble." At the center of them all is "the revelation of the righteousness of Christ."<sup>13</sup>

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<sup>13</sup>Idem, "The Perils and Privileges of the Last Days," RH 69 (November 22, 1892): 722.

2. In 1893 two important elements of Adventist eschatology were emphasized: the "latter rain" and the "loud cry." Even though Jones and Prescott mistakenly believed that the two teachings were mutually inclusive, the important thing that happened as they presented their righteousness-by-faith messages at the 1893 General Conference session, was their teaching that the "latter rain--the loud cry--according to the testimony and Scripture, is 'the teaching of righteousness by faith.'"

This heightened emphasis on righteousness by faith within the context of the latter rain and the loud cry was not an accident. The teaching became appropriate and necessary due to its historical setting, on account of the Sunday-law crisis that served as a powerful catalyst in sparking a consciousness that the second advent was near. Adventist response to the Sunday-legislation efforts in the period under consideration ignited a spiritual renewal and mission expansion.

3. With respect to the divine-human nature of Christ, in 1895 Jones and Prescott (E. J. Waggoner began earlier) taught the doctrine for the primary purpose of teaching righteousness by faith. The focal idea was that Jesus was the Christian's pattern, or example--a model that could be copied through the gift of saving faith.

Waggoner, Jones, and Prescott, though they expressed their views differently, all held that since

Christ in His sinful, human nature conquered temptation and remained sinless, human beings, in taking Christ's power by faith can also take Christ's victory over sin. They built their premise on the fact that Christ's divine nature provided Him with the credentials to bestow righteousness and power in response to faith. In the eschatological sense, union with Christ would ensure both the believer's spiritual preparation for the end-time events and citizenship in the eternal Kingdom of God.

4. Before the 1890s health reform was viewed by Seventh-day Adventists as a "part of the third angel's message" and as a preparatory lifestyle for those who wanted "to be fitted for translation." (J. H. Waggoner taught this in 1866.)

The new development in the 1890s was the connection that was made between health reform and righteousness by faith. Adventists affirmed that "health reform" was "as much . . . a part of God's plan of salvation as righteousness by faith." In essence, health reform, seen as a part of the third angel's message, was considered to be unreachable outside of a commitment to faith. "Genuine health reform," said Jones, "means health reform by faith, as genuine righteousness means righteousness by faith."

This development of the health-reform concept applied new meaning to the concept of fitting the

Christian for translation--a dominant eschatological concept.

5. The concept of "the inheritance" treats the victorious climax of the Christian's eschatological journey. It was not a new teaching among Adventists, but before 1888 it was related only to keeping of the commandments. In 1891, however, Waggoner fused the inheritance concept with justification by faith, explicitly stating that "the doctrine of the saints' inheritance is the doctrine of justification by faith." Waggoner went further by making the sweeping claim that "if we do not preach justification by faith in preaching the saints' inheritance, we are not preaching the gospel." This was a new and revolutionary concept.

The findings of this study have shown that the development of ideas on righteousness by faith added new dimensions to Adventist eschatology.

#### Organized Labor and Eschatological Development, 1884-1895

Research has shown that the happenings in the arena of organized labor led Adventists to expand their eschatological understanding. At least three implications were perceived:

1. Adventists, between 1884 and 1895, made a connection between labor conflicts and prophetic fulfillment pointing to the second advent of Christ and the end

of the world. In light of the inequities of material distribution and the general exploiting of the laboring class, the denomination's writers drew attention to scriptural passages that comment on the struggles between capital and labor (e.g., Jas 5:1-7; Isa 59:20) and inform the suffering poor that injustices will end at the second advent of Christ. What to many were simply "bread and butter" issues, or socio-economic problems with deep industrial and political entanglements, Adventists viewed as signs of the coming of Christ and the end of history.

2. Adventists noted the emergence of an association between organized labor and the Sunday-legislation movement. The denomination became suspicious of the Pope's willingness to mediate twice in labor disputes in the United States between 1884 and 1895, believing that the subtle move revealed a hidden agenda to advance the cause of Sunday legislation. In light of the central position that the mark of the beast held in late nineteenth-century Adventist eschatology, it is evident how even a semblance of an association of organized labor with the Sunday-law question was enough to set off a train of eschatological thinking among Adventists.

3. The denomination highlighted the element of "patience" (Jas 5) regarding solutions to problems involving the employer-employee relationship, as opposed to the drive for "immediacy" in the view of organized



labor. The church considered short-term solutions imperfect. The key concept was to wait for the Lord to provide true solutions. This concept of timing is crucial to the understanding of Adventist attitudes. Instead of supporting strikes and the perpetration of violence, Adventists, standing staunchly within the confines of their eschatology, advised the exploited laborer to be "patient unto the coming of the Lord."

The behavior of trade unions led nineteenth-century Adventists to clarify afresh their philosophy of "this worldly" versus "other worldly" realities. Labor conflicts caused the denomination to specify without ambiguity the ethical values that were paramount for a people who were expecting Jesus to return at any time.

#### Perspective

The heart of Seventh-day Adventist eschatology can be reduced to a common denominator--the second coming of Jesus Christ. All that is referred to in Adventist parlance as the "third angel's message"--for example, the theology of the sanctuary, the mark and the image of the beast, the "loud cry," the state of the dead, the resurrection, the commandments of God with the Adventist emphasis on the special end-time relevance of the seventh-day Sabbath, the "faith of Jesus," health reform, Adventist missiology, and Adventist education--would be

mere intellectuality if Jesus were not expected to return literally and soon.

It is understandable if the founders of the denomination seemed myopic regarding the second advent. One must remember, with respect to that event, that they continued to be Millerites intrinsically, expecting that Jesus would come at any time soon. It was believed that He might have come in the Civil War era when the institution of slavery provoked questions about the health of the democracy.<sup>14</sup> Again, many felt that His coming was almost immediate due to the notoriety that accompanied the King trial, the repeated arrests of Adventists, the convictions, and the chain gangs that kept occurring in Tennessee and other states over the Sunday-Sabbath conflict in the 1880s and early 1890s.

The question is in place: If the Adventists had continued to expect Jesus at any time, why then did they oppose the national Sunday-legislation crusade with such rigor? Should they not have allowed the situation to take its course, and let the crisis come, as a fulfillment of prophecy and as a historic necessity before the second advent?

Actually, some church members wanted the crisis to come and felt that A. T. Jones and others were fighting the issue too strongly. But the very thought of a

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<sup>14</sup>Idem, Early Writings, pp. 275-76.

church-state merger was irksome to Jones. And further, as noted above, the Sunday-law crisis contributed to robust evangelism. Delaying the crisis was necessary for mission expansion. Since Jesus was expected, the church needed time to prepare as many people as possible to meet Him. "Paradoxically, they wished to delay the end in order to preach that the end was soon."<sup>15</sup>

Meanwhile, as Jesus tarried, the late nineteenth-century Adventists, instead of losing sight of the significant event (the second advent), expanded their theology by translating events inside and outside their immediate context into eschatological terms. The above treatment of the three selected factors of the present study supports the claim that Adventist eschatology advanced in its scope. In other words, the eschatological teachings of the denomination as known by the Sabbatarian Adventists in the early post-Millerite years experienced growth and development in the late nineteenth century.

In shifting attention for a moment away from the nineteenth century, some questions may be asked: Is Adventist eschatology still changing, or has it already changed from what nineteenth-century Adventists believed? How could the historical and social contexts of a conservative people alter their eschatology? Are there

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<sup>15</sup>Butler, "The World of E. G. White," Spectrum 10 (August 1979): 8.

no distinctives, no "sacred untouchables," no absolutes in the eschatology of a church?

The above questions arise from a concern over what may be called a "revisionist school" that has set about to alter Adventist eschatology in the late twentieth century. As an example, this school of thought suggests a shift from the anti-papacy emphasis characteristic of Adventist eschatology. The idea is gaining currency in some quarters that the "beast" of persecution may not be the papacy, or its representative, but the Soviet Union or any other civil or religious power for that matter. The argument of the "revisionists" is for contemporariness. The papacy, the innovators believe, was perhaps applicable to the nineteenth-century context, but is no longer central. The danger here is the possibility of succumbing to a situation that admits fluidity--a constant shifting to this or that theory as time and circumstances change.

The objection to the "revisionism" noted here is not merely a case for orthodoxy. The character of the papacy has not changed over time and no one knows at this stage, though, what will finally happen in the Soviet Union. Less than five years ago the words perestroika and glasnost were unknown outside the Soviet Union; now, they have become almost a part of the global vocabulary and are symbolic of a new "openness" and new democratic freedoms that could change the political philosophy and

the attitude of the state to religion in the Soviet Union. In other communist areas, such as China, the government is presently under pressure from its peoples, who want democracy instead of a totalitarianism; and a revolution is now sweeping Hungary and Poland. Eastern Europe has begun to throw off the yoke of atheistic Marxist-Leninist communism. Adventist "revisionists" need to take these, as well as future, winds of change into consideration.

It could be argued that it was a rising, new generation of theologians who in 1888 reactivated the teaching of righteousness by faith and moved the church from its traditional moorings, and that therefore, a new generation has an obligation to make a shift in Adventist eschatology. The difference, however, is that while the new emphasis on righteousness by faith fused with and expanded the already held Adventist eschatological beliefs, the "revisionism" noted above is a deviation from and aberrant to the Adventist eschatological understanding.

In harmony with the subject at hand, Timothy L. Smith provokes some thinking:

Sometimes I think youthful or scholarly Adventists, like youthful or scholarly members of other communions, may be too quick to yield to the temptation to dismiss one or other aspect of their denomination's teachings as vestiges of folk-dogmas inherited from simple-minded forebears. This is

particularly true of doctrines that have become denominational distinctives. . . .<sup>16</sup>

Important as the above discussion is, even more essential is the ethical aspect of Seventh-day Adventist eschatology. The present study mentions several times the necessity of holy living in preparation for the second advent. Ralph Neall has stated that Ellen White's "apocalyptic expectations impelled her prophetic exhortations" and that "the nearness of the parousia became more of an ethical than a chronological statement."<sup>17</sup> White's ideas were representative of other leaders of the denomination.

Ethical behavior and holy living is beyond the reach of humans without divine aid. This study highlights the central position of righteousness by faith in Adventist eschatology. The righteousness of Christ--God's provision for the achievement of a holy life--is inextricably bound up with the successful pursual and climax of a Christian's eschatological journey. If Adventists who are given to debating issues of 1888 would seriously consider that eschatological meaning was linked to righteousness by faith when the new emphasis started

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<sup>16</sup>Timothy L. Smith, "Four Great Ideas in Adventism--An Evangelical's Testimony," Spectrum 14 (December 1983): 2.

<sup>17</sup>Neall, "The Nearness and the Delay of the Parousia," p. 240; idem, How Long, O Lord? pp. 110-11.

in that year, the realization could initiate a positive turning point and a healing revival for the church.

Meanwhile, when Adventists in the 1980s (soon to be the 1990s) express trepidation concerning an imminent Sunday law, or discuss such topics as the mark of the beast, religious liberty, or the three angels' messages of Rev 14, it would be beneficial for them to remember the link that was made a century ago between these teachings and righteousness by faith. Jones and Waggoner, in performing a theological marriage between righteousness by faith and religious liberty through the late 1880s and early 1890s, unlocked full meaning of Rev 14:12 that extolls the "patience of the saints" and those "that keep the commandments of God, and the faith of Jesus."

Finally, after all that was said about Adventist eschatology and the imminence of the second coming of Christ, the problem of the "nearness" yet "delay"<sup>18</sup> of the event has prompted many Seventh-day Adventists to lose hold of their eschatological vision. Indeed, the apparent "tension" that exists between the soon coming yet the tarrying of Jesus need not be a source of

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<sup>18</sup>Ibid, p. 1. Neall pursued this problem and discovered that "the tension between nearness and delay" of Christ's second coming "cannot be completely harmonized in Ellen White's writings." Yet Ellen White, as Neall observed, in sharing "many characteristics with ancient apocalypses," was not singular in placing "contradictory statements . . . alongside each other without trying to work out all the logical questions."

discouragement. In reality, at least from God's point of view, the vision has not dimmed.

### Recommendations for Further Study

Separate in-depth studies could be done on each of the three factors treated in the present study to determine its influence on the development of Seventh-day Adventist eschatology. By using different contextual factors and chronological periods in the nineteenth century, additional studies could be developed in the area of the development of Adventist eschatology. Also, such issues as Sunday legislation, righteousness by faith, and organized labor (with selected time periods) could form the basis for twentieth-century studies.

In light of the move among many to contextualize the writings of Ellen White, it would be useful to have twentieth-century studies done on righteousness by faith in connection with Seventh-day Adventist eschatology with White's writings as the frame of reference.

Most of Ellen White's statements about organized labor are outside the time frame of the present study. It would be useful if a study could be done on Ellen White and trade unions in the context of Adventist eschatology.

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Adventists need to be encouraged, though, that since Ellen White used both concepts--nearness and delay--"as motives behind the same kinds of exhortations . . . that White was more concerned about the ethical effects of her eschatology than about its chronology."



Finally, A. T. Jones played a major role in shaping Adventist views on religious liberty and relating those views to Adventist eschatology. An in-depth study of Jones's work in religious liberty and its influence on the development of Seventh-day Adventist eschatology would be helpful.

## APPENDIX

### Fundamental Principles of Seventh-day Adventists in 1872

In presenting to the public this synopsis of our faith, we wish to have it distinctly understood that we have no articles of faith, creed, or discipline, aside from the Bible. We do not put forth this as having any authority with our people, nor is it designed to secure uniformity among them, as a system of faith, but is a brief statement of what is, and has been, with great unanimity, held by them. We often find it necessary to meet inquiries on this subject, and sometimes to correct false statements circulated against us, and to remove erroneous impressions which have obtained with those who have not had an opportunity to become acquainted with our faith and practice. Our only object is to meet this necessity.

As Seventh-day Adventists we desire that our position shall be understood; and we are the more solicitous for this because there are many who call themselves Adventists who hold views with which we can have no sympathy, some of which, we think, are subversive of the plainest and most important principles set forth in the word of God.

As compared with other Adventists, Seventh-day Adventists differ from one class in believing in the unconscious state of the dead, and the final destruction of the unrepentant wicked; from another, in believing in the perpetuity of the law of God as summarily contained in the ten commandments, in the operation of the Holy Spirit in the church, and in setting no times for the advent to occur; from all, in the observance of the seventh day of the week as the Sabbath of the Lord, and in many applications of the prophetic scriptures.

With these remarks, we ask the attention of the reader to the following propositions, which aim to be a concise statement of the more prominent features of our faith.

## I

That there is one God, a personal, spiritual being, the creator of all things, omnipotent, omniscient, and eternal, infinite in wisdom, holiness, justice, goodness, truth, and mercy; unchangeable, and everywhere present by his representative, the Holy Spirit. Ps. 139:7.

## II

That there is one Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of the Eternal Father, the one by whom God created all things, and by whom they do consist; that he took on him the nature of the seed of Abraham for the redemption of our fallen race; that he dwelt among men full of grace and truth, lived our example, died our sacrifice, was raised for our justification, ascended on high to be our only mediator in the sanctuary in Heaven, where, with his own blood, he makes atonement for our sins; which atonement, so far from being made on the cross, which was but the offering of the sacrifice, is the very last portion of his work as priest, according to the example of the Levitical priesthood, which foreshadowed and prefigured the ministry of our Lord in Heaven. See Lev. 16; Heb. 8:4, 5; 9:6, 7; &c.

## III

That the Holy Scriptures, of the Old and New Testaments, were given by inspiration of God, contain a full revelation of his will to man, and are the only infallible rule of faith and practice.

## IV

That Baptism is an ordinance of the Christian church, to follow faith and repentance, an ordinance by which we commemorate the resurrection of Christ, as by this act we show our faith in his burial and resurrection and through that, of the resurrection of all the saints at the last day; and that no other mode fitly represents these facts than that which the Scriptures prescribe, namely, immersion. Rom. 6:3-5; Col. 2:12.

## V

That the new birth comprises the entire change necessary to fit us for the kingdom of God, and consists of

two parts: first, a moral change, wrought by conversion and a Christian life; second, a physical change at the second coming of Christ whereby, if dead, we are raised incorruptible, and if living, are changed to immortality in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye. John 3:3, 5; Luke 20:36.

## VI

We believe that prophecy is a part of God's revelation to man; that it is included in that scripture which is profitable for instruction, 2 Tim. 3:16; that it is designed for us and our children, Deut. 29:29; that so far from being enshrouded in impenetrable mystery, it is that which especially constitutes the word of God a lamp to our feet and a light to our path, Ps. 119:105, 2 Pet. 2:19; that a blessing is pronounced upon those who study it, Rev. 1:1-3; and that, consequently, it is to be understood by the people of God sufficiently to show them their position in the world's history, and the special duties required at their hands.

## VII

That the world's history from specified dates in the past, the rise and fall of empires, and chronological succession of events down to the setting up of God's everlasting kingdom, are outlined in numerous great chains of prophecy; and that these prophecies are now all fulfilled except the closing scenes.

## VIII

That the doctrine of the world's conversion and temporal millennium is a fable of these last days, calculated to lull men into a state of carnal security, and cause them to be overtaken by the great day of the Lord as by a thief in the night; that the second coming of Christ is to precede, not follow, the millennium; for until the Lord appears the papal power, with all its abominations, is to continue, the wheat and tares grow together, and evil men and seducers wax worse and worse, as the word of God declares.

## IX

That the mistake of Adventists in 1844 pertained to the nature of the event then to transpire, not to the

time; that no prophetic period is given to reach to the second advent, but that the longest one, the two thousand and three hundred and three days of Dan. 8:14, terminated in that year, and brought us to an event called the cleansing of the sanctuary.

## X

That the sanctuary of the new covenant is the tabernacle of God in Heaven, of which Paul speaks in Hebrews 8, and onward, of which our Lord, as great High Priest, is minister; that this sanctuary is the antitype of the Mosaic tabernacle, and that the priestly work of our Lord, connected therewith, is the antitype of the work of the Jewish priests of the former dispensation, Heb. 8:1-5, &c; that this law is the sanctuary to be cleansed at the end of the 2300 days, what is termed its cleansing being in this case, as in the type, simply the entrance of the high priest into the most holy place, to finish the round of service connected therewith, by blotting out and removing from the sanctuary the sins which had been transferred to it by means of the ministration in the first apartment, Heb. 9:22, 23; and that this work, in the antitype, commencing in 1844, occupies a brief but indefinite space, at the conclusion of which the work of mercy for the world is finished.

## XI

That God's moral requirements are the same upon all men in all dispensations; that these are summarily contained in the commandments spoken by Jehovah from Sinai, engraven on tables of stone, and deposited in the ark, which was in consequence called the "ark of the covenant," or testament; Num. 10:33; Heb. 9:4, &c.; that this law is immutable and perpetual, being a transcript of the tables deposited in the ark in the true sanctuary on high, which is also, for the same reason, called the ark of God's testament; for under the sounding of the seventh trumpet we are told that "the temple of God was opened in Heaven, and there was seen in his temple the ark of his testament." Rev. 11:19.

## XII

That the fourth commandment of this law requires that we devote the seventh day of each week, commonly called Saturday, to abstinence from our own labor and to the

performance of sacred and religious duties; that this is the only weekly Sabbath known to the Bible, being the day that was set apart before paradise was lost, Gen. 2:2, 3, and which will be observed from paradise restored, Isa. 66: 22, 23; that the facts upon which the Sabbath institution is based confined it to the seventh day, as they are not true of any other day; and that the terms, Jewish Sabbath and Christian Sabbath, as applied to the weekly rest-day, are names of human invention, un-scriptural in fact, and false in meaning.

## XIII

That as the man of sin, the papacy, has thought to change times and laws (the laws of God), Dan. 7:25, and has misled almost almost all Christendom in regard to the fourth commandment, we find a prophecy of reform in this respect to be wrought among believers just before the coming of Christ. Isa. 56: 1, 2, 1Pet. 1:5, Rev. 14:12, &c.

## XIV

That as the natural or carnal heart is at enmity with God and his law, this enmity can be subdued only by a radical transformation of the affections, the exchange of unholy or holy principles; that this transformation follows repentance and faith, is a special work of the Holy Spirit, and constitutes regeneration and conversion.

## XV

That as all have violated the law of God and cannot of themselves render obedience to his just requirements, we are dependent on Christ, first, for justification from our past offences, and, secondly, for grace whereby to render acceptable obedience to his holy law in time to come.

## XVI

That the Spirit of God was promised to manifest itself in the church through certain gifts enumerated especially in I Cor. 12 and Eph. 4; that these gifts are not designed to supercede, to take the place of, the Bible, which is sufficient to make us wise unto salvation, any more than the Bible can take the place of the Holy Spirit; that in specifying the various channels of

its operation, that spirit has simply made provision for its own existence and presence with the people of God to the end of time, to lead to an understanding of that word which it had inspired, to convince of sin, and work a transformation in the heart and life; and that those who deny to the spirit its place of operation, do plainly deny that part of the Bible which assigns to it this work and position.

## XVII

That God, in accordance with his uniform dealings with the race, sends forth a proclamation of the approach of the second advent of Christ; that this work is symbolized by the three messages of Rev. 14, the last one bringing to view the work of reform of the law of God, that his people may acquire a complete readiness of that event.

## XVIII

That the time of the cleansing of the sanctuary (see proposition X), synchronizing with the time of the proclamation of the third angel's message is the time of investigative judgment, first with reference to the dead, and at the close of probation with reference to the living to determine who of the myriads now sleeping in the dust of the earth are worthy of a part in the first resurrection, and who of its living multitudes are worthy of translation--points which must be determined before the Lord appears.

## XIX

That the grave whither we all tend, expressed by the Hebrew sheol, and the Greek hades, is a place of darkness in which there is no work, device, wisdom, or knowledge. Eccl. 9:10.

## XX

That the state to which we are reduced by death is one of silence, inactivity, and entire unconsciousness. Ps. 146:4; Eccl. 9:5, 6; Dan. 12:2, &c.

## XXI

That out of this prison house of the grave mankind

are to be brought by a bodily resurrection; the righteous having a part in the first resurrection, which takes place at the second advent of Christ, the wicked in the second resurrection, which takes place a thousand years thereafter. Rev. 20:4-6.

## XXII

That at the last trump the living righteous are to be changed in a moment, in the twinkling of an eye, and with the resurrected righteous are to be caught up to meet the Lord in the air, so forever to be with the Lord.

## XXIII

That these immortalized ones are taken to Heaven, to the New Jerusalem, to the Father's house in which there are many mansions, John 14:1-3, where they reign with Christ a thousand years, judging the world and fallen angels, that is, apportioning the punishment to be executed upon them at the close of the one thousand years; Rev. 20:4; 1 Cor. 6: 2, 3; that during this time the earth lies in a desolate and chaotic condition, Jer. 4: 20-27, described, as in the beginning, by the Greek term abussos, bottomless pit (Septuagint of Gen. 1:2); and here Satan is confined during the thousand years, Rev. 20: 1, 2, and here finally destroyed, Rev. 20:10; Mal. 4:1; the theater of the ruin he has wrought in the universe being appropriately made for a time his gloomy prison house, and then the place of his final execution.

## XXIV

That at the end of the thousand years, the Lord descends with his people and the New Jerusalem, Rev. 21:2, the wicked are raised and come up on the surface of the yet unrenewed earth, and gather about the city, the camp of the saints, Rev. 20:9, and fire comes down from God out of heaven and devours them. They are then consumed root and branch, Mal. 4:1, becoming as though they had not been. Obad. 15, 16. In this everlasting destruction from the presence of the Lord, 2 Thess. 1:9, the wicked meet the everlasting punishment threatened against them, Matt. 25:46. This is the perdition of ungodly men, the fire which consumes them being the fire for which "the heavens and the earth which are now" are kept in store, which shall melt even the elements with its intensity, and purge the earth from the deepest stains of the curse of sin. 2 Pet. 3:7-12.



That a new heaven and earth shall spring by the power of God from the ashes of the old, to be, with the New Jerusalem for its metropolis and capital, the eternal inheritance of the saints, the place where the righteous shall evermore dwell. 2 Pet. 3:13; Ps. 37:11, 29; Matt. 5:5.

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A Declaration of the "Fundamental Principles" Taught and Practiced by the Seventh-day Adventists, 1872. See ST 1 (June 4, 1872): 3.

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Washburn (Letter 32), January 6, 1891; E. G. White to Brother and Sister Keck (Letter 77), May 1902. These materials are located in the Ellen G. White Estate Branch Office, Andrews University.

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The diary of R. Dewitt Hottel (October 9 to November 10, 1888) is stored at the Archives of the General Conference of Seventh-day Adventists in Washington, D.C., and the notes of W. C. White (taken in two booklets at the 1888 General Conference session) are stored at the Ellen G. White Estate in Washington, D.C. Hottel's diary, Nash's letter, and White's notes can also be found in the recently published Manuscripts and Memories of Minneapolis (1988).

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